IRAN PARTHIANS AND SASSANIANS

by ROMAN GHIRSHMAN

THE ARTS OF MANKIND

EDITED BY ANDRÉ MALRAUX

AND GEORGES SALLES

This magnificent book deals with Persian art from the collapse of Alexander's empire to the rise of Mohammedanism, eight hundred years later. The subject has never been covered in a single volume nor has it ever received such impressive and extensive treatment. The author, a field archaeologist, has been head of the French Archaeological Mission in Iran for the past fifteen years.

The Parthians who entered Persia from the eastern steppes after the death of Alexander, lived peacefully side by side with the Greek settlers and so two conceptions of life and beauty, radically different from each other, came into contact. The Greek ideal of sculpture made alive by modelling was opposed by the Parthians' more or less linear vision combined with rigidity and monumentality. This led, for a time, to a style which was predominantly Greek, but soon the native Persian traits reappeared in the art of the Parthians. Its profoundly national characteristics provide the basis of the Sassanian style which followed.

During the reign of the Sassanid dynasty Iran once more rose to great heights. The unity of the country, the power of the Crown and the feudal society's taste for the rich, brilliant and magnificent were all reflected in the art of this time. But Sassanian art is even more remarkable as a generator and diffuser of forms. It has played a historic role in the stylistic development of both the Eastern and Western currents of world art. For, as Dr Ghirshman shows, its traces are as deep and far-reaching in the art of medieval Europe as in the arts of China and Japan.

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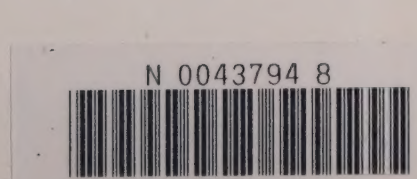

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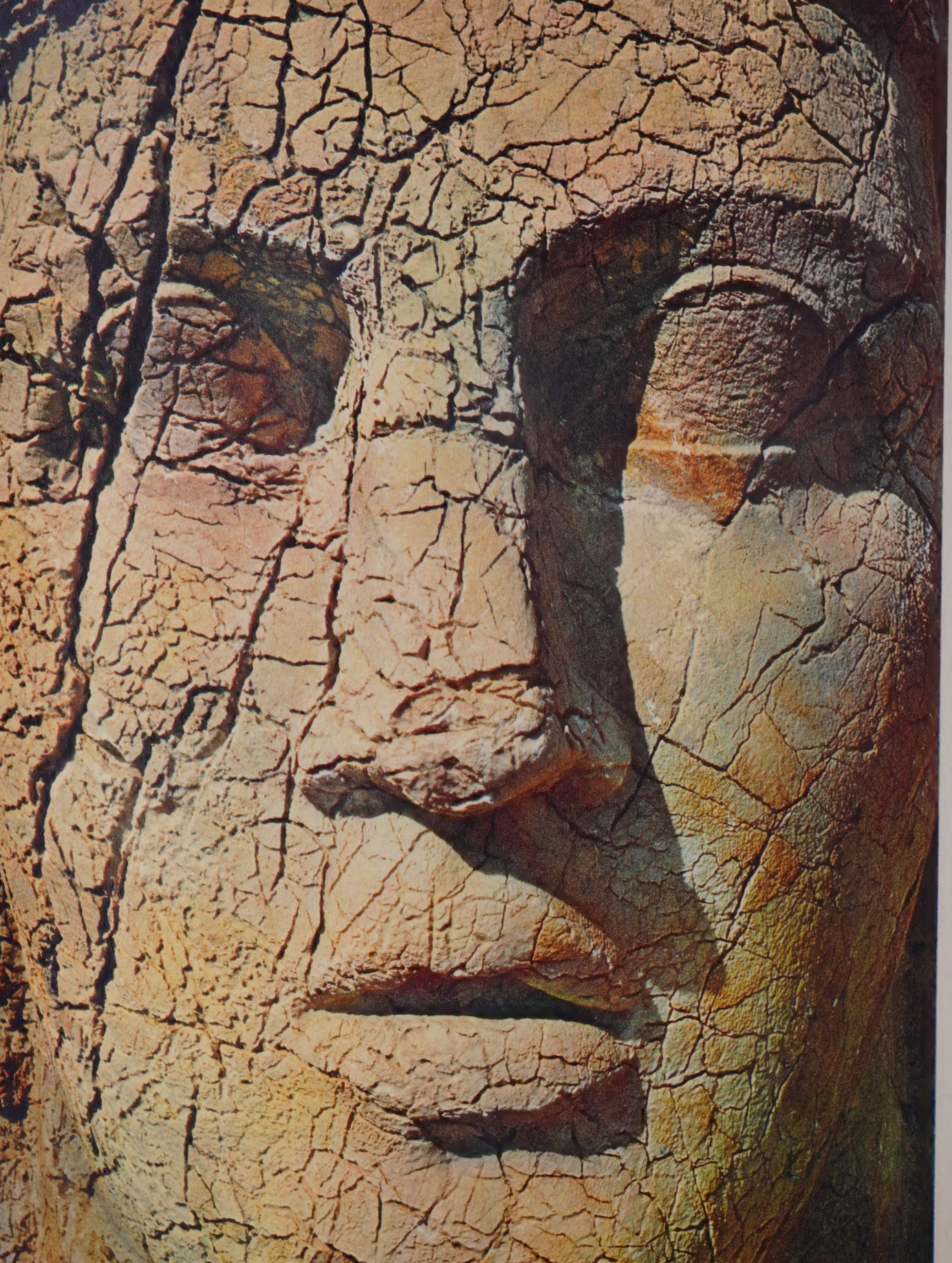

ROMAN GHIRSHMAN

IRAN

PARTHIANS AND SASSANIANS

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Frontispiece: *Greco-Iranian Art.* Head of Antiochus I.
Nimrud Dagh. First Century B.C. Statue, in situ.

I have pleasure in recording the debt of gratitude I owe to Madame Clémence Duprat whose invaluable collaboration has greatly helped in the making of this volume.

A pupil of Henri Focillon and herself an eminent mediaevalist, Madame Duprat kindly consented to amplify the passages dealing with Sassanian textiles, which involved research-work I could not well have carried out myself, since this book was written in Iran, far from libraries and museums.

To

GEORGES SALLES

2 - HATRA. SUN GOD WITH EAGLE AND STANDARD (2nd CENTURY A.D.) — IRAQ MUSEUM, BAGHDAD

INTRODUCTION

THE very existence of Parthian art, as distinct from Sassanian art, is a recent discovery. As a result of intensive research work, the traditional view of the Parthian world as an obscure hinterland on the margin of the Roman Empire has now been challenged. A change of perspective has taken place, bringing to the fore the Greco-Iranian art which, just before the Christian era, flourished in the vast region of the non-Mediterranean East hellenized by the Seleucids and Bactrians.

One of the results of the discoveries at Dura Europos (from 1921 on) has been a better knowledge of the affiliations of the art that flourished on the Syro-Mesopotamian steppes, in Babylonia and on the western edge of the Iranian Plateau. It was to this art, which came to full flowering at Palmyra, Dura Europos and Hatra, that Rostovtzeff gave the name of 'Parthian art.' In his opinion its chief innovation was a strict observance of the law of frontality and, looking for the origin of this practice, he traced it to the Iranian nomads of the Caspian steppes, among them being the Parthians, who disseminated this convention in the lands they dominated.

1 - HATRA. THE GOD ASSUR-BEL WITH TYCHE AT HIS FEET (2nd CENTURY A.D.) — IRAQ MUSEUM, BAGHDAD

3 - CAPUA, MITHRAEUM. MITHRAS TAUROCTONUS — CAPUA MUSEUM

Ernest Will, however, in his study of Greco-Roman cult reliefs (1955), took the view that the replacement of side-face by full-face figuration, even in narrative reliefs, cannot have been a Parthian innovation, and he attributes it to the widespread influence of Greek art in the Mediterranean region. Should we, then, assume that the triumph of frontality in the Parthianized Semitic cities of the Near East coincided with the coming of the Roman legions?

Here we would draw attention to a view that several eminent international archaeologists have been advocating for some sixty years. At the time when Strzygowski demonstrated the need for recognizing, in any discussion of the origins of Early Christian art, the existence of an indigenous Oriental art owing nothing to the West, the problem then (in 1901) was *Orient oder Rom*—'Either the Orient or Rome.' But today, in the light of the studies made by Ernest Will, Henri Seyrig, Daniel Schlumberger and others, of the archaeology of the period we are here concerned with (and also of an earlier epoch), the question to be decided is, rather, 'the Orient or Greece?' And if 'Greece' be the correct answer, we must remember that in the Hellenistic period the Greek world was not confined to the limits of the future Roman Empire.

The great merit of Schlumberger's study of the 'non-Mediterranean descendants of Greek art' (1960) is that he confronts Greco-Roman art with that of an Iranian, or Iranianized, Greek East extending from the loop of the Euphrates (monuments of Antiochus of Commagene, mid-first century B.C.) to the Ganges plain (monuments of Kanishka, early[?] second century A.D.). In this vast area we find resemblances not only between Parthian and Kushan art, but also between works of Greco-Buddhist art and certain 'orientalizing' works produced within the Roman Empire, notably those of Mithraic art.

Thus we must now posit the existence of a Greco-Iranian art from which Parthian and Kushan art (under its regional forms: Bactrian, Gandharan, Mathuran) presumably derived. But, as against the analogies between Par-

thian and Kushan art due to a common source, there are also divergences too marked to be ignored. True, some are merely natural results of different environments. But there are others of a more deep-seated order, which go to show that Kushan culture was more profoundly hellenized than Parthian culture.

An outstanding example is Gandharan sculpture whose narrative scenes of the 'illusionist' type reveal a fuller understanding of Greek forms and a less rigorous insistence on frontality.

The presence of this hellenizing strain in Kushan art, far to the east of Parthia, in the remote Indo-Iranian borderland, sets an intriguing problem. A whole group of British and American experts—Benjamin Rowland, Hugo Buchthal, Alexander Soper, Sir Mortimer Wheeler—regard this art as a Greco-Roman offshoot, transplanted to these regions as a result of commercial dealings between West and East. On this view it was a by-product of the thriving trade that, under the Roman Empire, linked the Mediterranean lands with India, and thence with Afghanistan. Undoubtedly this 'Romano-Buddhist' theory marks an improvement on the 'Greco-Buddhist' theory advanced by Foucher, who saw in the art of Gandhara a ramification of Hellenistic art carried south of the Hindu Kush by the thrust of nomad tribes.

But the excavations made since 1952 at Surkh Kotal by the French archaeological expedition led by Schlumberger tell a rather different

4 - PALMYRA. TRICLINIUM OF MAQQAI, DETAIL (3rd CENT. A.D.) — IN SITU

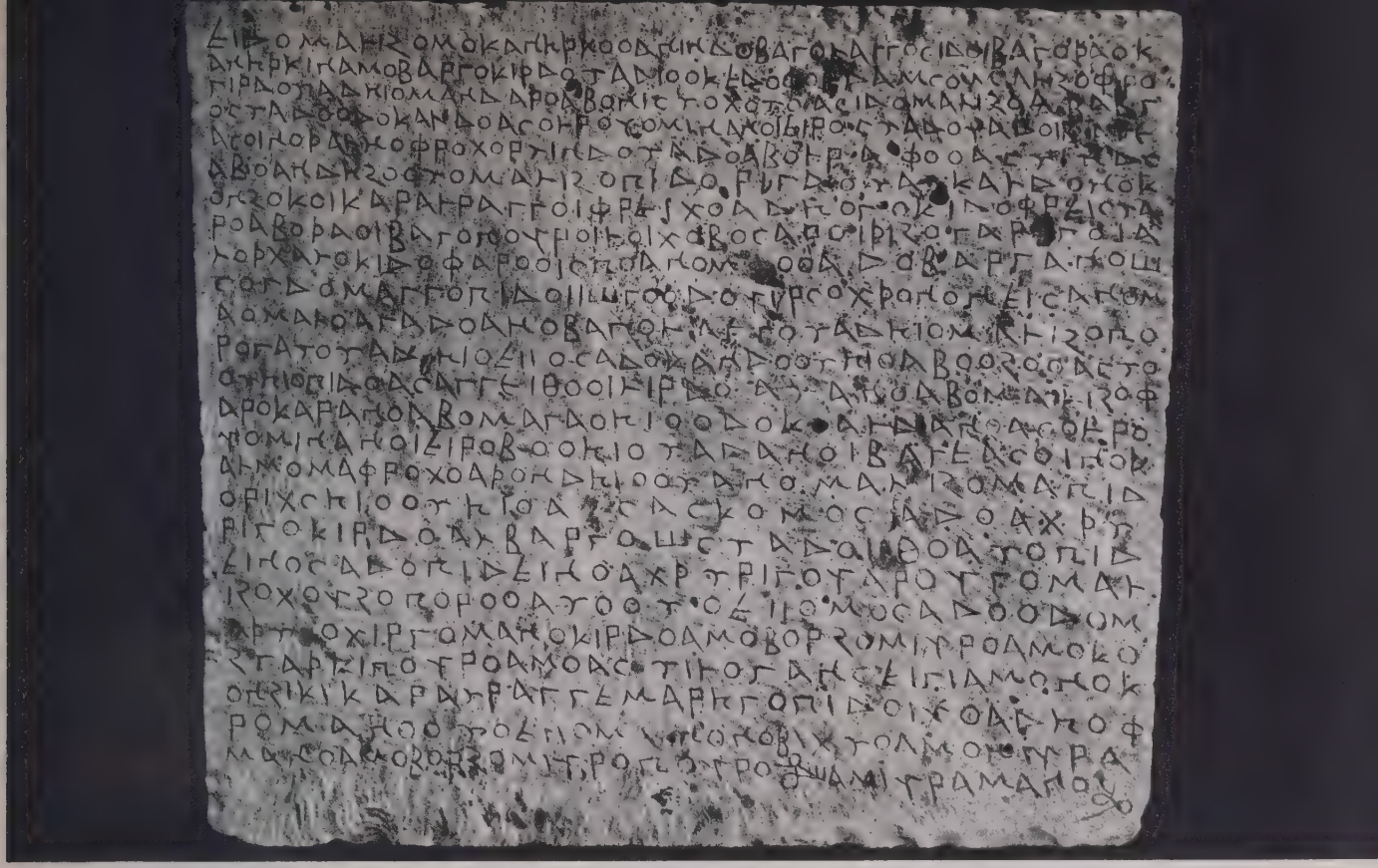
5 - GANDHARA. FIGURES IN IRANIAN COSTUME (2nd-3rd CENT. A.D.) — TORONTO

6 - GANDHARA. PRESENTATION OF THE SERPENT TO THE KACYAPA BROTHERS (2nd CENTURY A.D.) — CALCUTTA MUSEUM

7 - SURKH KOTAL. PERIBOLUS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE DURING EXCAVATION (EARLY 2nd CENTURY A.D.)

tale. The remains of a temple of the 'Great Kushans' that were brought to light proved that a dynastic art existed in Bactria, tinctured with Hellenism and stemming both from ancient Achaemenian Iran and from the new Parthian Iran. The discovery of this Greco-Iranian art north of the Hindu Kush was of capital importance, since it raised anew the problem of the origins of Gandharan art, in which we find the same components, with, however, the addition of an Indian element.

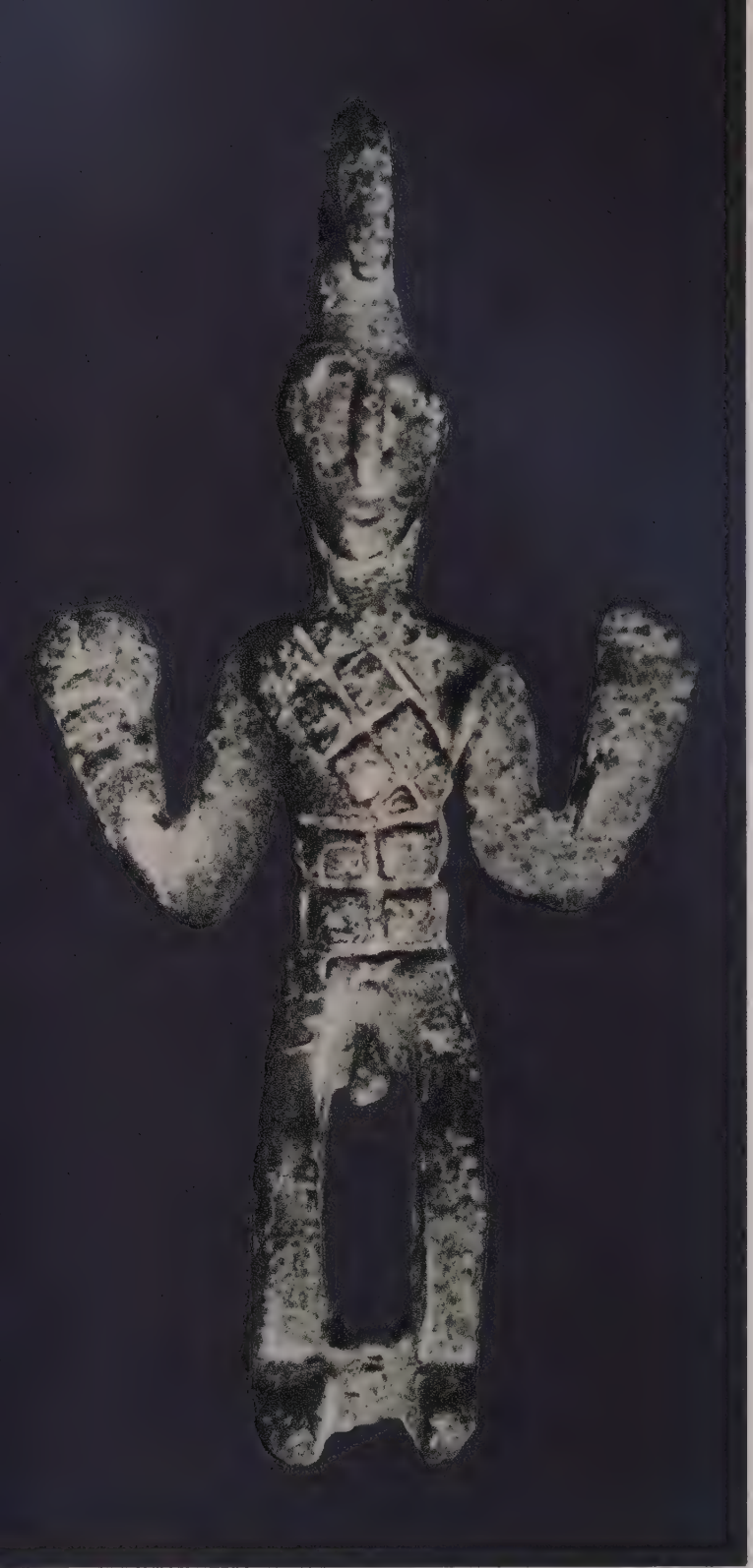
As things stand, we have the choice of two alternatives: that of assigning the Surkh Kotal monuments to the sphere of Gandharan influence, and that of regarding them as a progeny of the lost art of Grecian Bactria. Thus once again new archaeological discoveries point to the existence of a Bactrian culture which—contrary to the views of our Greco-Buddhists and Romano-Buddhists—is no longer to be dismissed as a myth, but may prove to represent one of the as yet unexplored outposts of Hellenism in Central Asia. One point, anyhow, is now well established, and this is the Bactrian origin of the Greek alphabet used by the Kushans; in the Surkh Kotal inscriptions we have new confirmation of its employment. So there is no occasion for surprise when we find Schlumberger suggesting that the chief source of the Hellenism practised at Surkh Kotal may have been the 'Bactrian civilization' which developed in



8 - SURKH KOTAL. INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA (FIRST HALF, 2nd CENTURY A.D.) — KABUL MUSEUM

eastern Iran after Alexander's conquest and flourished in the third and second centuries B.C. And it is also towards this source that we shall orient our study of the birth of Parthian art at Nysa in Turkmenistan, a site that has recently been explored by a Soviet expedition. In short, while it may be assumed that Greco-Bactrian art lay at the origin of the Hellenistic style of the monuments at Surkh Kotal, it was undoubtedly the Greco-Iranian art of the Great Kushans that acted, in the first instance, as the connecting link between the so-called Greco-Buddhist art and its Hellenic sources.

The excavations at Surkh Kotal have also demonstrated the kinship between the large-scale sculpture of the Kushan Acropolis and the Scythian statues in the temple of Mat, near Mathura. We shall find that this statuary has parallels in Parthian art. Moreover, certain idiosyncrasies—notably in the way of treating the folds of drapery—reappear in the Gandhara sculptures. Once again the influence of the Greco-Iranian art of Bactria is manifest. Needless to say, the number and importance of the elements incorporated vary with the resistance set up by local art traditions and in terms of the coefficient of a certain Greco-Roman influence. But, local idioms and nuances notwithstanding, this art clearly illustrates a style pertaining to the vast *koine* extending from the Oxus to the Ganges.



9 - HURVIN. WARRIOR FIGURINE (8th CENT. B.C.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

The purpose of this volume is to set forth the history of the arts of first Parthian, then Sassanian Iran. We shall show how a fusion took place, under the Arsacids, between the Achaemenian tradition, patrimony of the Ancient East, and the imported Greek tradition. Next, how the integration of the Parthian legacy into Sassanian art promoted a renaissance, national in spirit, which in turn transformed the foreign elements into auxiliaries and speeded up the evolution of the new cultures of both East and West.

The ideas set forth in the following pages will be better understood if our readers appreciate the importance we ascribe to the *conservative* elements always implicit in Iranian culture. The alternative view—of an overriding influence of Greece and Rome—should not lead us to overlook this fact. The notion of Parthian art as a post-Greek art sponsored by a ruling class infatuated with 'modernism,' allows for only one aspect of the situation, and shows a misunderstanding of that transition from the Greco-Iranian to a Neo-Iranian style in the course of which Parthian art deliberately reverted to an earlier technique, with a view to reviving the national heritage in an uncontaminated form.

We have already spoken of the strict observance of frontality. This is found in all archaic arts and, though confined to specific motifs and limited in scope, appeared on the Iranian Plateau in the protohistoric period. In the Luristan bronzes (which in our opinion derived from

Medo-Cimmerian art) we find it in its most pronounced form. While it is true that Achaemenian art, known to us only through the royal palaces and tombs of Persepolis and Susa, largely dispensed with frontalism, there were good reasons for its doing so. Essentially a narrative art, it was enlisted from the outset in the service of an empire created by a people who, fresh from the nomad way of life, felt the need to civilize and urbanize its forms. Thus in building their cities, palaces and temples the Achaemenians drew both on the art forms of more cultured neighbours and on traditions which had been followed for millennia and which had kept to side-view presentation.

The widespread adoption of frontality in the first century B.C. and the early centuries of the Christian era was no accident. It now made good for the same reason as it had made good some seven centuries before—as a consequence of the appearance on the Plateau of a wave of Iranian nomads from Outer Iran whose figural art was based on this formula.

Let us consider the Parthian works of art in which all the figures in a narrative scene are treated frontally. For the Greek artist, obviously, the indiscriminate application of frontality to every figure, regardless of the part it plays in the action, would be unthinkable. But it made sense to the Iranian artist, who had always thus envisaged the figures in a narrative composition—as is clearly evidenced by the silver plaque from Luristan in the Cincinnati Museum.

10 - PALMYRA. THE GOD BAALSHAMIN (EARLY 1st CENT. A.D.) — LOUVRE

11 - LURISTAN. THE GOD ZURVAN GIVING BIRTH TO AHURAMAZDA AND AHRIMAN (8th-7th CENTURIES B.C.) — CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM

It is in the 'presentation scenes,' whose action would normally associate them with the figures shown in side-view of an episodic composition, that we find the most revealing instances of figures treated frontally. These appear most persistently in narrative art 'dedicated to the service of the gods.' If Parthian art seems to *insist on* this frontality (while the Greeks resort to it

12 - LURISTAN. HORSE-BIT (8th-7th CENTURIES B.C.) — MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

13 - PALMYRA REGION. THE GOD MALKA BETWEEN JUPITER-HADAD AND GENNEAS (?) (EARLY 1st CENT. A.D.) — INSTITUT FRANÇAIS, BEIRUT

sparingly), the explanation is that we have here yet another instance of the inveterate conservatism of that art. The Cincinnati plaque, in which presentation and action fuse together, shows the law of frontality already being observed in very early Iranian art. And in animal imagery we find the front view in constant use from protohistoric times to the Arsacid period.

14 - PERSEPOLIS. LION ATTACKING BULL (6th-5th CENTURIES B.C.) — IN SITU

15 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. INVESTITURE OF KING NARSAH (A.D. 293-302) — IN SITU

16 - GANDHARA. PRESENTATION OF THE BRIDE (3rd CENTURY A.D.) — HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The persistence of frontality in Sassanian art is an undeniable historical fact. We shall see how this convention governed both the presence and the demeanour of the king or god in the centre of a convergent narrative composition. The Sassanians, however, proceeded to combine in a single scene figures in front view with others in profile; the Achaemenians had kept to side-view and the Parthians to full-face figuration. And while Sassanian art certainly marks a reaction, it was a reaction not so much against Parthian precedents as against Hellenism. Such is the conclusion to be drawn from the adherence to exclusively frontal and side-view representations of figures on Sassanian reliefs, as compared with the lateral figures on Greco-Buddhist reliefs which are presented in the Greek manner, in more natural and plausible attitudes (i.e. in three-quarter view). Here we see the uncompromising Iranian rigour with which, even in combination, the two conventions were observed: one (full-face) of Parthian origin, the other (side-view) of Achaemenian origin.

Parthian art did not die out when the Sassanid dynasty took over the reins of power. Though supplanted in the empire, it continued to flourish unchanged in the towns of the Syro-Mesopotamian steppes. And it was this final phase of Parthian art that was brought to light in the archaeological discoveries of the early twentieth century. Though the results to date of these excavations and the studies based on them cover a considerable

ground, there is no question that a great deal remains to be done in the way of research. For one thing, Rostovtzeff's interpretation of the finds made at Dura Europos has not only been challenged but written off by some authorities as outdated; for another, no comprehensive survey of Palmyrene art has yet been made. Hatra represents another lacuna, our knowledge of the discoveries there being incomplete. Even so, by invalidating the old conception of Parthian art as an isolated phenomenon and restoring it to its proper historical context, the preliminary work carried out in these composite centres by archaeologists of various nationalities has reduced to its just proportions the influence hitherto assigned to Mediterranean art in Western Asia.

17 - ROME. THE GOD SABAZIUS — NATIONAL MUSEUM, COPENHAGEN

In a series of remarkable studies (in *Syria*, 1931-57, republished as *Antiquités syriennes*), Henri Seyrig has demonstrated the extent to which Greco-Roman art tended to gain ground at the expense of Parthian art, at the very time when the latter was making its appearance at Palmyra. But while Mediterranean influence is manifest in architecture, sculpture seems to have been unaffected by it. From the stone beams of the Temple of Bel, decorated with painted bas-reliefs, to the most recently discovered representations of the 'funeral feast,' not a single narrative composition is to be found at Palmyra which could be described as 'illusionist' in the Greek manner. Unlike Syro-Roman sculpture, Palmyrene sculpture was patently an offshoot of Greco-Iranian art.

Such paintings as are extant seem to point to a certain vacillation in the choice of models. A few frescoes and mosaics are copies of Hellenistic prototypes. But the painted portraits and the Victories represented in front view, with symmetrical draperies, in the Hairan tomb and the hypogeum of the Three Brothers, have markedly Oriental characteristics; and both at Dura and Hatra, as we shall see, the monuments left by the Romans cut the figure of intruders in the Parthian milieu. So it was only at Palmyra that Greco-Roman art prevailed over Parthian art with any measure of success; everywhere else Iranian cultural forces held their ground indomitably.

The influence exerted by Parthian art in the Roman world formed part of a much more extensive movement. It is common knowledge that, by the end of the first century, Greco-Roman art had begun to assimilate Oriental forms. Cult pictures serving a twofold purpose—since they could also be combined with other figures or scenes placed in historiated figural settings, sometimes in tiers—were produced in Rome and the provinces to meet the wishes of the growing number of adepts of the Oriental religions. Certain peculiarities of their architectonic elements (trellises with slanting bars, square fleurons and corbels), together with a more or less pronounced tendency towards frontal presentation of figures, may justifiably be regarded as derivatives of Parthian art. Discounting the possibility of any direct influence, Daniel Schlumberger traces these affinities back to a common Greco-Iranian cultural source, which he identifies as Mithraism in Iranianized eastern Anatolia, and as the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in Commagene. In his opinion it was only later that, within the cultural sphere of this non-Mediterranean Hellenism, a specifically Parthian influence took effect; and then, in the full force of its ascendancy, made a lasting imprint on Late Roman art—an imprint transmitted in due course to the arts of Byzantium, of the 'barbarian' West, and ultimately to Romanesque.

For the past century historians and archaeologists have been trying to solve the problem of Parthian art in the light of our steadily increasing knowledge of the geographical and historical factors conditioning it. The outstanding recent contribution is the theory of Daniel Schlumberger, who considers Parthian art to be a development of that aulic Greco-Iranian art whose domain, by the end of the Hellenistic period, extended from the Euphrates to the Ganges. This solution is certainly open to question, for it seems to overstate the case for pan-Hellenism and, by the same token, to underestimate the originality and driving force of the indigenous art forms of Outer Iran.

True, upon their arrival in Iran and Mesopotamia, the Arsacid conquerors found a flourishing Greco-Oriental art, whose dominant factor, however, was Achaemenian. It was the conjunction of this hybrid art with their own art traditions that gave rise to the aulic Greco-Iranian art that we find in its early phase at Nimrud Dagh and in full flower at Surkh Kotal.

While fully alive to the difficulties of the problem, which arise above all from the inadequacy of the documentation at present available, we hope to show in the following pages that Parthian art has a cachet all its own. Originating as it did in the eastern steppes, its forms are more purely Iranian than those of Achaemenian art. Taken over by the Sassanians, Parthian art marks an important stage in the evolution of the arts of Iran. And the studies and interpretations of it which we owe to Rostovtzeff and to Seyrig (who is largely in agreement with him) have lost nothing of their value.

PART ONE

19 - PERSEPOLIS. SEATED DOG (5th-4th CENTURIES B.C.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

I

PARTHIAN ART

THE domination of Alexander the Great led to a pause in the evolution of Iranian art, hitherto unbroken for seven centuries. The conqueror's plan of creating a mixed civilization, incorporating the best of Greece and Iran, was thwarted by his death (323 B.C.) and internecine warfare between his successors. After the battle of Ipsus (301) the political organization of the known world was stabilized with the formation of a Macedonian monarchy in Europe, a Ptolemaic monarchy in Egypt, and a Seleucid monarchy in Asia.

Following his marriage with a Persian noblewoman, Seleucus, heir to the greater portion of the Achaemenian Empire, founded a dynasty in which Iranian and Macedonian blood were blended in equal proportions. His two capitals—Seleucia on the Tigris and Antioch on the Orontes—were linked by a Royal Road spanning the two parts of his empire. The overriding concern of the early Seleucid monarchs was to safeguard the unity of their far-flung dominions, as composite as those of the Achaemenids. By peopling them with Greeks and Macedonians, and developing a vast programme of town-planning to house and settle these exiles from their native lands, they hoped to establish a nation-wide culture which would lend itself to Hellenization.

18 - NIMRUD DAGH. GUARDIAN LION OF TOMB OF ANTIOCHUS I OF COMMAGENE (69-34 B.C.) — IN SITU

20 - SITES AND MONUMENTS OF PARTHIAN IRAN

In the event things worked out differently. By the end of the third century B.C. Hellenistic man had come to realize how precarious his ascendancy was, in view of the ethnical problems involved, and had gradually drifted into a mood of resignation that blunted the edge of his intellectual and professional capacities. The result was that he yielded to the appeal of Oriental cults and religious ceremonies and in these Greek syncretism was given full play. So while Iran was being hellenized, the conquerors themselves were becoming Iranianized. Meanwhile the country folk, living in villages and hamlets, remained untouched by Hellenization. The cultural differences between urban and rural societies created a gulf between them, and the seeds were sown of a future antagonism. Geographically speaking, too, Hellenization did not equally permeate all parts of the country. Though there was an abundance of Greek towns and colonies in Media, the outlying regions seem to have been little if at all affected by the Greek settlements. This was particularly true of Persis, where the ancient racial traditions were tenaciously preserved.

On his arrival in eastern Iran, Alexander, reverting to the tactics of Cyrus the Great, pressed forward to the limits of the 'settled world,' with a view to setting up a line of fortifications capable of resisting the constant thrust of the 'fluid' populations of the hinterland. But the Seleucids were unable to defend this barrier, which ran along the valley of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya), and their progressive enfeeblement was exploited by the tribes of the near-by steppes, that well-nigh inexhaustible reservoir of man power.

Towards the middle of the third century B.C. a group of Iranian tribes of the same stock (the 'Massagetae' of Herodotus), which had been leading a nomadic existence from the Caspian Sea to Chinese Turkestan, started pressing forward in three separate waves. On the western flank the Sarmatians advanced towards the rich Greek cities strung out along the north coast of the Black Sea. After dislodging the Scythians and driving them back to the Danube they gradually succeeded in 'Sarmatizing' the Greeks, protected though they were by the ramparts of their cities. On the east flank, pressure by the Huns set in motion the Yueh-chi (later styled the Kushans) who in alliance with the Sacae defeated the Greeks and annexed Bactria in the second century B.C., and founded at the beginning of the Christian era a mighty empire extending from eastern Iran to the valley of the Ganges and from Russian Turkestan to the Indian Ocean. In the central zone the Parni tribe,

who formed part of the Dahae, a group of Scythian nomads that had occupied the plains north of the Khorasan mountains, had invaded Parthia as early as 250 B.C. They occupied the entire district that today forms the Trans-Caspian frontier between Russia and Iran, and soon afterwards annexed Hyrcania. Thus was established the nucleus of the future Parthian kingdom, which cut off for good the Seleucid Empire from the Greek kingdom of Bactria.

Should we see this as an Asiatic retaliation for the too rapid rise to power of Europe? No, the reasons for the changes that then came over the political map of hither and central Asia are hardly to be explained as a revenge of the Iranian world on that of the Greeks and Macedonians. Two factors seem to have played a preponderant part in these upheavals: first, the forward drive of the Iranians, as well as the Turco-Mongols, in the wake of the advancing nomads; secondly, the decadence from a military point of view of the Seleucids and Greco-Bactrians who were now incapable of making a united stand against the invaders, their energies being dissipated in internecine strife.

Never again did Iran witness a territorial expansion so far-reaching and profound as that which was now accomplished by the races of Iranian blood. Those great empire-builders, the Achaemenians, reaped the harvest of all that the old Oriental civilizations had brought into the world in the course of their long existence. And both culturally and artistically their civilization acted, by and large, as a centripetal force.

There was a gap of five and a half centuries between the end of the Achaemenian empire and the rise of the Sassanid dynasty. During this period the Iranian tribes of the steppes fanned out in all directions: the Sarmatians overran the northern shore of the Black Sea, the Sacae advanced to the Indus estuary, the Parthians pressed forward from the Euphrates, while the Kushans penetrated eastern India. All alike, despite the great variety of lands and races, of climates and environments, succeeded in creating a composite civilization wherever they established themselves. While, as we have suggested, their civilization acted as a centripetal force, the movement which originated in the region to which René Grousset has given the name of 'Outer Iran' was of a centrifugal nature. In some of its developments it broke through the limits set by the resistance of its neighbours: the Greco-Roman world in the west, India and even China in the east. And in this movement the Parthians played a leading part.

The reconquest of Iran by the Parthian Arsacids took over a century (c. 250-140 B.C.). Thus Parthian art (in the full sense) cannot be said to have existed on the Plateau before the accession of Mithridates II (c. 123 B.C.). For this reason it seems convenient to divide our study of the arts of Iran into two periods: (1) that before the accession of Mithridates II and (2) that beginning with his reign (c. 123-87 B.C.), which bridged the gap between the Achaemenians and the Sassanians.

ART IN IRAN BEFORE THE REIGN OF MITHRIDATES II

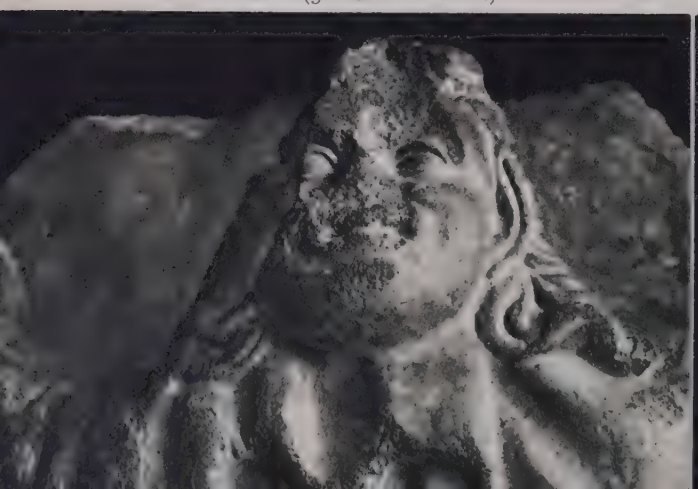
THE art of a race is almost bound to be affected by its political decline and the general impoverishment this leads to. Such was the case with Iranian art in the age of the Seleucids. During this period we get the impression of two competing social orders, one of which, transplanted from the West, patronized the artists of the Hellenistic world, while the other, Iranian by descent but imbued with Greek culture, employed local artists, strongly influenced, however, by Western art trends. What little survived of Achaemenian culture between these two pressure groups underwent a serious setback.

Such was the background of the period. It reveals the existence not of one art but of several kinds of art, due to an adaptation or a compromise. The productions of the period may be said to fall into three categories: (1) Hellenistic art, (2) Greco-Iranian art and (3) Iranian art proper.

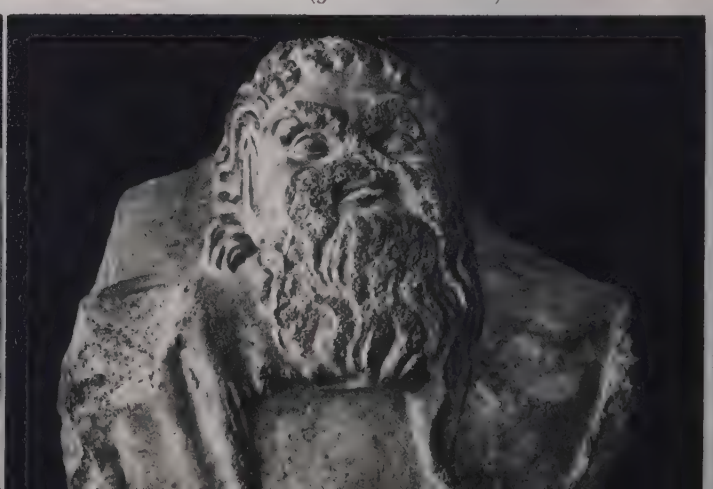
It is hard to determine whether the works of art belonging to the first group were made in the country or imported. The accidental discovery of a stele inscribed with the edict (193 B.C.) of Antiochus III has enabled us to identify the Greek city of Laodicea (Nihawand) lying some sixty miles south of Ecbatana (Hamadan). This city, named after the deified wife of King Antiochus III, must have had several temples, but no trace of the buildings themselves remains. All we have found is a round altar adorned with a ribbon in relief. Some bronze statuettes of the third or second century B.C. were discovered incidentally on the same site as the stele, and they must have belonged to one of the local temples. These figurines represent Zeus, Athena, Apollo and Demeter, and may have been imported from Syria or Egypt.

Alexander's troops identified the great plain of Kermanshah with the mythical Nysa, where Dionysus, after being banished from Olympus, was reared by Silenus and the Muses. This low-lying, well-watered land, famed in antiquity for its horses and vineyards, lent itself readily to such an identification. Quite possibly the Greeks built a temple here to their favourite god, who according to their tradition was the first to conquer India. The stone basin, decorated with busts of satyrs and Silenus, which was found at Denavar near Kermanshah, may have belonged to this temple.

21 - DENAVAR. SILENUS (3rd-2nd CENT. B.C.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM



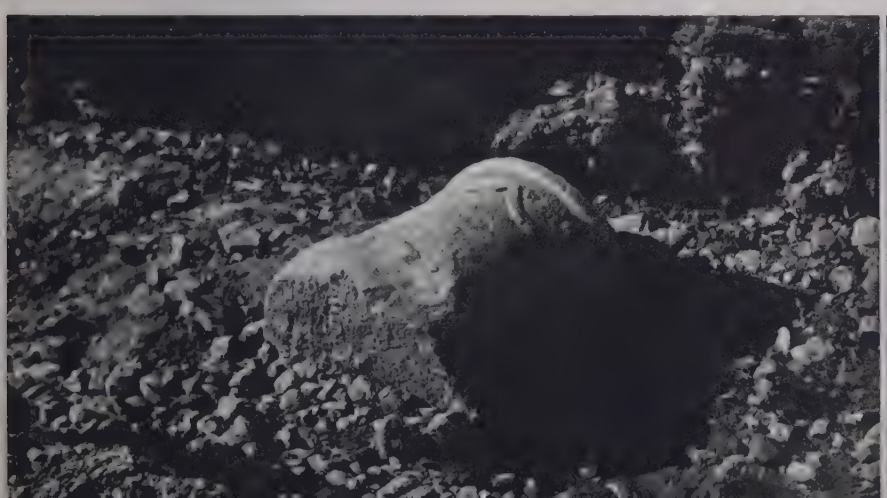
22 - DENAVAR. SILENUS (3rd-2nd CENT. B.C.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM



23 - NIHAWAND. FIGURINES: (A) WOMAN (B) DEMETER (C) ATHENA (D) APOLLO (E) ZEUS (3rd-2nd CENT. B.C.) — LOUVRE AND TEHERAN

The great bronze statue found in an Iranian temple at Shami near Malamir in the Bakhtiari mountains, on the trade route between the Persian Gulf and the district of Isfahan (Gabae), may well be an effigy of Dionysus. A small head in white marble is believed by Sir Aurel Stein, who discovered it, to represent Aphrodite. Fragments of large bronze statues of Zeus and Dionysus,

24 - NIHAWAND. ALTAR (3rd-2nd CENT. B.C.). 25 - TEMPLE OF SHAMI. APHRODITE(?) (3rd-2nd CENT. B.C.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM



27 - TEMPLE OF SHAMI. WOMAN'S HEAD (2nd CENTURY B.C.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

and of a Seleucid monarch and his wife(?), have also been found at Shami. The theory that the monarch represented was Antiochus IV Epiphanes seems plausible enough. For this king made a last attempt to weld together the Orientalized Greeks and the Hellenized Orientals. He decreed a cult of himself as the king-god in all the temples of the kingdom. But his political programme proved abortive. When, a quarter of a century later, Mithridates I conquered Elymais, the kingdom in which the temple of Shami was situated, the refusal of the local population to recognize the new Parthian dynasty led to the pillaging of the two temples founded by the Seleucid monarch, including perhaps the one containing his statue.

6 - TEMPLE OF SHAMI. HEAD OF ANTIOCHUS IV(?)
(2nd CENTURY B.C.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

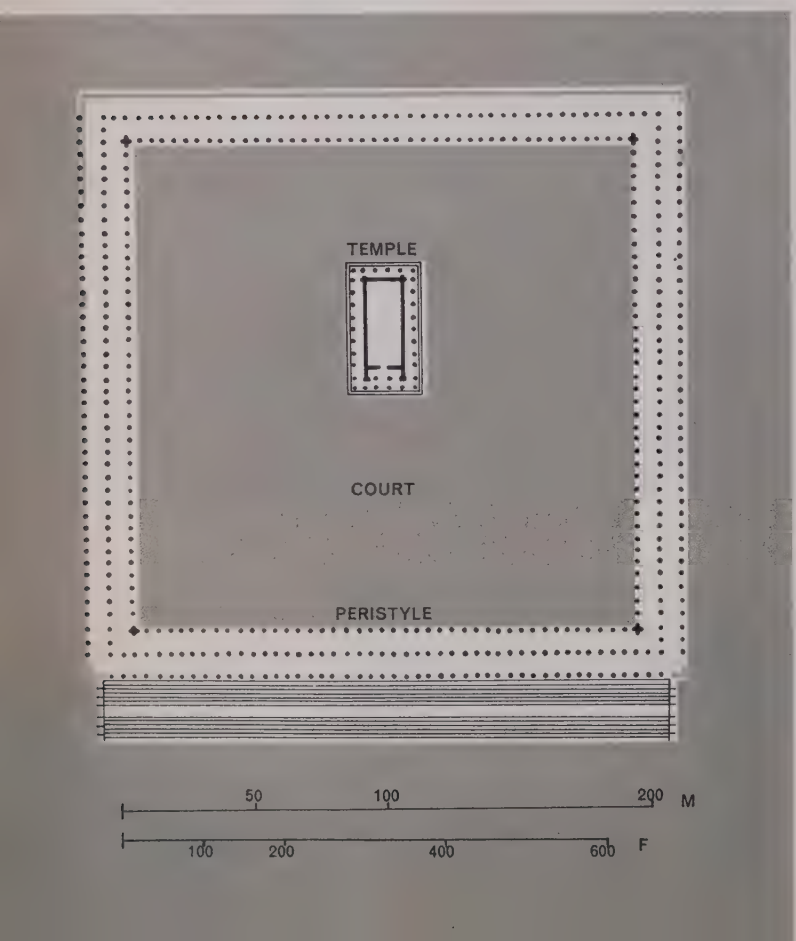
28 - BAKHTIARI MOUNTAINS. GODDESS(?) (2nd-1st CENTURIES B.C.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

The draped torso in alabaster, of a Greek goddess(?), also found in the Bakhtiari mountains, likewise falls into the category of Hellenistic art. And from Susa, home of an exceptionally large Greco-Macedonian colony, comes a small head of Aphrodite(?) in imported Greek marble.

29 - ISTAKHR. ACANTHUS-LEAVED CAPITAL (3rd-2nd CENTURIES B.C.) — PERSEPOLIS

To the category of Greco-Iranian art may be assigned the remains of three edifices, two at least of which were temples. In the one at Istakhr an imitation of the Corinthian capital, without abacus, was discovered: this is an obvious compromise between the Iranian column and the Greek capital.

30 - KENGAVAR. TEMPLE RUINS. DRAWING BY FLANDIN AND COSTE (1843-54)



31 - KENGAVAR. PLAN OF THE TEMPLE (C. 200 B.C.)

A century ago the ruins of another temple planned on Greek lines could still be seen at Kengavar, on the road from Kermanshah to Hamadan. Here a gigantic room, thought to have been built about 200 B.C., covered nearly two hundred square yards; the walls were made of large stone blocks in imitation of the terrace of Persepolis, whereas the columns had Doric capitals with Corinthian abaci.

It is assuredly at Khurkha (just off the road from Teheran to Isfahan) that we see most clearly the Iranian architects' inability to understand the true functions of Greek structural elements. In the Khurkha temple, also built on a Greek plan, the columns depart widely from the classic proportions between height and diameter: an Iran-

ian practice already noticed at Persepolis. Their bases, in the Achaemenian style, have a thick torus overlapping a double plinth, while the capitals, a poor imitation of the Ionic style, are a compromise between the voluted capitals of Median tombs and reminiscences of Greek architecture.

It is the same story everywhere; the Iranian artist contents himself with superficial resemblance and neither tries to understand the functional significance of the architectural features he is imitating, nor to preserve their proportions. The non-Iranian elements are not integrated into the structure of the masses and form little more than veneer.

Representative of the third group (Iranian art proper) is a fire temple built in the third or second century B.C. at Nurabad, between Bishapur and Fahlian, on a south-western spur of the Zagros mountains. It is a replica on a smaller scale of the Achaemenian tower-temples at Pasargadae and Naqsh-i-Rustam. There are, however, certain differences, due to changes in the ritual. Thus the edifice is provided with an inner staircase leading to the roof, on which fire altars were set up during this period. The general effect is no longer one of a building of several storeys, since the walls are all of a piece, without recesses or blind windows. The lintel of the door is no longer adorned with mouldings and the masonry lacks precision. Architecture, in short, is on the decline. And the same is true, as we shall see, of the plastic arts.

32 - KHURKHA. COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE (C. 200 B.C.)

33 - NURABAD. FIRE TEMPLE (3rd-2nd CENTURIES B.C.)

34 - PERSEPOLIS. FIRE TEMPLE. (A) PRINCESS (B) PRINCE (3rd CENTURY B.C.) — IN SITU

In the early third century B.C. a local prince, perhaps of Achaemenid blood, built a temple at the foot of the terrace of Persepolis. The general plan is Iranian. But its chief interest lies in the decoration of the door-jambs which, in accordance with Achaemenian practice, are ornamented on the inner side with two bas-reliefs. Here, however, the figure of the royal builder holding the sacred fasces (*barsom*) is no longer confronted, as in the palace of Persepolis, by his double—an equivalence serving to stress the religious and political import of the figuration. True, in the presentation of the corresponding female figure we find an hieratic symmetry, but this is not enough to compensate for the lack of any real power in this 'confrontation.' There is an obvious affinity between the ritual gestures of these figures, shown

35 - SUSA. (A) KNEELING ACHAEMENIAN SERVANT (5th CENTURY B.C.) — LOUVRE (B) ROBE AND SWORD OF A PARTHIAN NOBLE (3rd CENTURY B.C.) — LOUVRE

in profile and seemingly unmoving, and the gestures of the worshippers in the Oxus treasure and that of the Median prince carved on the tomb of Dukkan-i-Daud. But a marked decline can be seen in the artists' technique; the very low relief enabling little or no play of light and shade, the absence of modelling and the purely linear treatment of figures betray the inexpertness of these sculptors.

We get the same impression from a mutilated stone statue found at the foot of the tower of Susa, where the Achaemenians had erected a small royal palace. This statue was the work of a local artist with little taste for innovation. Taking the bas-reliefs in the palace as his point of departure, he added some parallel folds to the drapery and in representing the fringes of the belt he exactly copied the headdress of one of the men-servants on an Achaemenian relief. The statue is treated columnwise; there is no trace of life in the body tightly sheathed in its garment, and the effect is almost that of an empty shell. In the long, heavy sword pressing against the man's left hip and the pommels of two daggers (just visible on the two sides of the belt) we see the typical equipment of a Parthian noble.

There exists another statue, in limestone, believed to have been found at Shami, in which the figure is rendered in much the same way.

Despite its archaizing trend, this art was to persist and traces of it can be found both in Parthian and Sassanian art.

36 - SHAMI. PARTHIAN PRINCE(?)
(SECOND CENTURY B.C.?)
PRIVATE COLL., NEW YORK

BIRTH OF PARTHIAN ART: NYSA

The Parthians' first capital was Nysa, located a few miles from the modern Ashkhabad, in what is now Russian Central Asia. The city was built on the western edge of the desert of Kara Kum, bordering the steppes roamed over by the nomad tribes. Two large mounds, systematically excavated by the Soviet expedition, have yielded some valuable information about the beginnings of Parthian art.

On the site of Old Nysa stood the royal palace and several temples. The decorations on the façade of the palace date to the 'Philhellenic' period (third and second centuries B.C.). The metopes, merlons and frieze in terracotta illustrate the complexity of the ornamental repertory employed here, its distinctive feature being the combination of typically Parthian motifs (quivers, bows and arrows) with Western elements assimilated to Iranian themes (for example, the head of Herakles syncretically representing the Iranian deity Verethragna). Purely Achaemenian in style, and as such exceptional, is the fluted decoration of a stone fragment, found on this site, which much resembles the one from Susa. It is noteworthy that stucco was not employed in any of the Nysa decorations.

A central hall, rebuilt several times and roofed with beams supported by four quadrilobated columns, may be dated to the first century of the Christian era. The lay-out provides for three naves and the walls comprise two registers, the upper one divided up into a series of niches. These contained male and female figures made in reinforced clay, painted over, representing the deified ancestors of the Parthian kings. This practice of deifying the ruling monarch obtained also in the ancient kingdom of Chorasmia where, at Toprak-kala, a room with similar royal statues has been brought to light.

South of the palace lay the so-called 'Square House.' Four *iwans* (i.e. vaulted rooms with three walls, open on one side) gave on the central courtyard. The works of art found on the site seem to indicate that the *iwans* were subsequently converted

7 - NYSA. SQUARE HALL OF THE PALACE (3rd-2nd CENTURIES B.C.)

38 - NYSA. STATUETTES OF WOMEN OR GODDESSES (2nd CENTURY B.C.)

39 - NYSA. SEAL IMPRESSIONS (1st-2nd CENTURIES A.D.)

into royal treasure chambers. Here various objects in pottery and glass, Hellenistic statuettes in marble and in gilded silver, and some forty ivory rhytons had escaped the depredations of treasure-hunters.

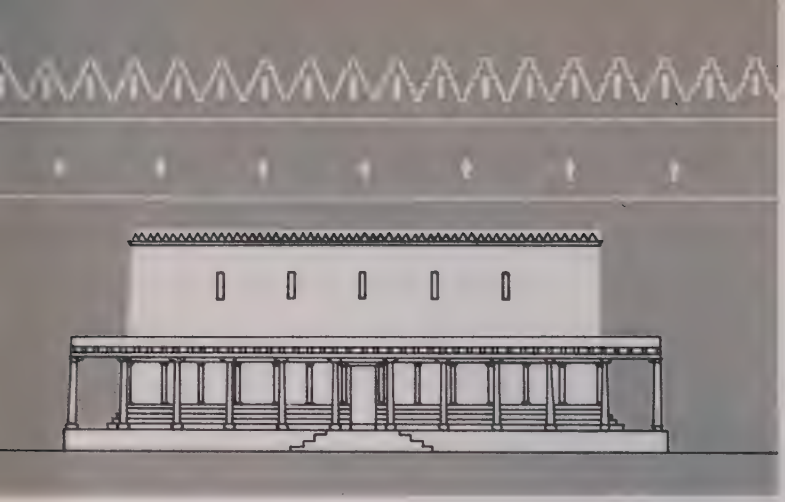
The comparative study of the rhytons found at Nysa has yielded some valuable information. Their shape is Oriental, and the ornamentation in the form of a griffin's head goes back to the Achaemenian period. But, while the mythological scenes on some of these vessels are Greek, the friezes of heads on others reproduce an ancient Iranian decorative theme.

It is quite possible that what we have here are Greco-Bactrian works hailing from the independent Greek kingdom which established itself in eastern Iran in about 250 B.C. and whose capital was Balkh. May it not be that the co-existence of Greeks and Iranians in this remote land of Central Asia led to an art in which a mutual comprehension of the art forms of the two races, thanks to this *entente*, favoured the development of a new type of art reflecting the growing political cohesion of the two peoples?

Seals were found affixed to the doors of the treasure chambers at Nysa (where the rhytons and other precious objects were discovered), and the seal impressions, spaced out over several centuries, provide a unique conspectus of Parthian glyptic art. They seem to date no earlier than the first or second century A.D. Thanks to their classification by two

40 - NYSA. (A) WOMAN OR GODDESS, (B) WINGED SPHINX (2nd CENT. B.C.)

41 - OLD NYSA. IVORY RHYTONS (2nd CENT. B.C.)



42 - NYSA. CEMETERY OF THE PARTHIAN NOBILITY (2nd CENTURY B.C.)

43 - PALMYRA. TOMB OF YARKAI (A.D. 175-200) — DAMASCUS MUSEUM

Soviet scholars, M.E. Masson and G.A. Pugachenkova, we can now bridge the gap between Achaemenian and Sassanian seal designs. Preparing the way for the copious iconography of Sassanian gems, they illustrate the Hellenistic elements which were grafted on to it.

In New Nysa an edifice with a portico in front abutted on a surrounding wall dating to the third or second century B.C. The portico was supported by columns resting on a base with a torus and crowned with voluted capitals of the pre-Ionic Oriental type already employed on Median rock tombs. The presence of several burial chambers suggests that this was a 'hypogeum temple.' The long, narrow chambers contained *loculi* like those of the mausolea at Palmyra. Presumably they were made for members of the Parthian nobility desirous of being buried in a city containing royal tombs.

Parthian architecture always maintained links with the nomad type of habitat. It would seem that the *iwan* derived from the tent, one side of which contained an opening. In the central courtyard of the 'Square House' with its four *iwans* we have probably the earliest example of this form of architecture, which the Parthians introduced throughout their dominions, even as far afield as Assur. And the large hall with three naves may have suggested the subsequent division of the façades of Parthian palaces into three *iwans*. Also, the vault now became the commonest type of roof.

44 - ASSUR. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PALACE (1st CENTURY A.D.) — BERLIN MUSEUM

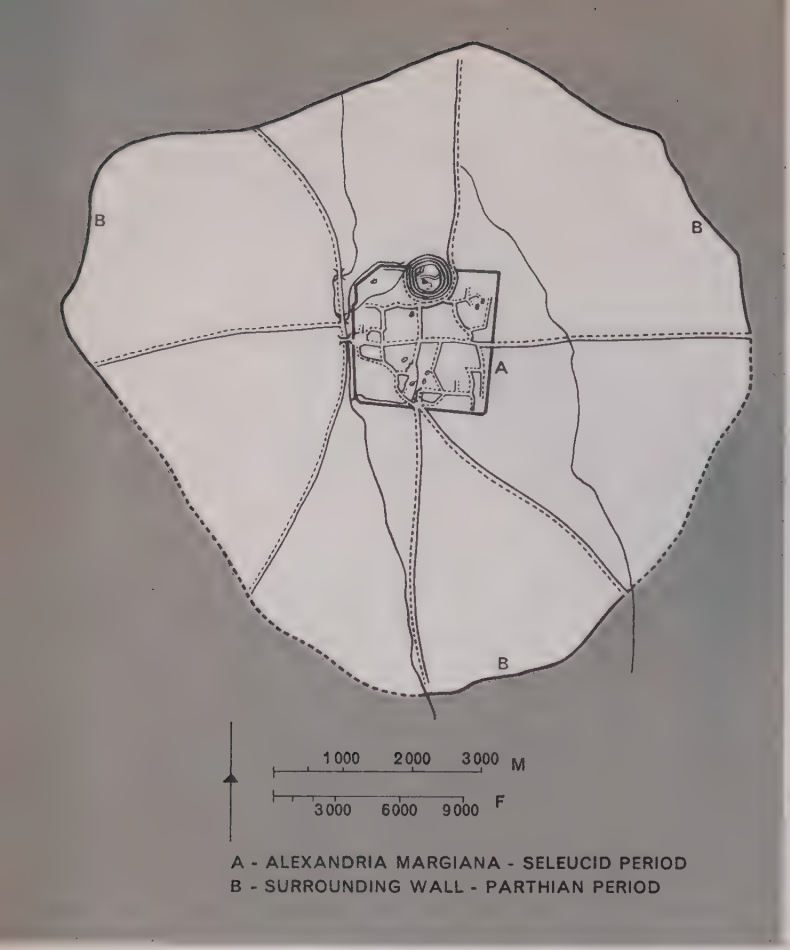
PARTHIAN ART AFTER THE RECONQUEST OF IRAN

THE westward drive of the Arsacids soon brought them to the banks of the Euphrates, for the Seleucids everywhere gave way before them. But at this juncture Rome challenged the growing might of Arsacid Iran. Self-styled heirs of Alexander, the Roman emperors aimed at the eventual conquest of all Asia, including India. For nearly three centuries the Parthians carried on the struggle with Rome, defending their right to the inheritance of the Achaemenians and Seleucids, and kept to their programme of reconstructing the former eastern empire, with its outlets on the Mediterranean.

Meanwhile they had to bear the brunt of frequent inroads by nomad tribes from the steppes of the north-east and the passes of the Caucasus. By pushing back the frontiers to the line of the Oxus, Mithridates II dammed the flood of nomads and saved the western world from the menace of the Sacae. But the growth of the Kushan empire gave rise to a new tension in the east.

Politically speaking, Parthian Iran now became a 'middle kingdom' sandwiched between Rome and the Kushans. Since the early second century B.C. the Kushans had held the three most important sectors of the Silk Route: first, that of the two seas (Caspian and Euxine); then, the road running through Merv, Hecatompylos and Ecbatana to the Mediterranean ports; and, finally, the sea route between India and the Red Sea. Economically, the Kushans, like the Parthians, played the part of middlemen in East-West international commerce, and could, if so minded, divert merchandise to roads lying outside Parthian territory. Thus we may well believe that strained relations frequently developed between the two neighbouring empires. But, exhausted as they were by internecine conflicts and constantly at odds with Rome, the Parthians did their utmost to avoid disputes with their neighbours. All the more so because their own decadence synchronized with the ascendancy of the Kushan empire. The presence of this powerful enemy on the eastern frontier of Iran was a constant threat to the political and economic welfare of the country. This danger was successfully averted by the Sassanian king Shapur I (died A.D. 272), who not only thoroughly reorganized the civil administration but also built up a well-disciplined army.

45 - THE SILK ROUTE FROM CHINA TO THE MEDITERRANEAN



46 - MERV. PLAN OF THE TOWN IN THE PARTHIAN PERIOD

47 - SHIZ (TAKHT-I-SULEIMAN). AERIAL VIEW OF THE ANCIENT TOWN

Urban Development. The few towns built by the Parthians in the course of their westward advance were given a circular plan, on the lines of the military camps they set up in the course of their expeditions across the steppes.

When we study the history of a town like Merv, the influence of military considerations on Parthian town-planning becomes evident. It was already an ancient city when Alexander renamed it Alexandria Margiana. Destroyed by a nomad invasion, it was rebuilt by Antiochus I. Thus the typical Greek plan of a town on strictly geometric lines (associated with the name of Hippodamos) was adhered to even in the eastern portion of the empire. Aware of the importance of Merv in the political and economic life of the country, the Parthians left it intact. But round the core of the old city they built a new one on the circular plan, defended by a ring-wall of fortifications.

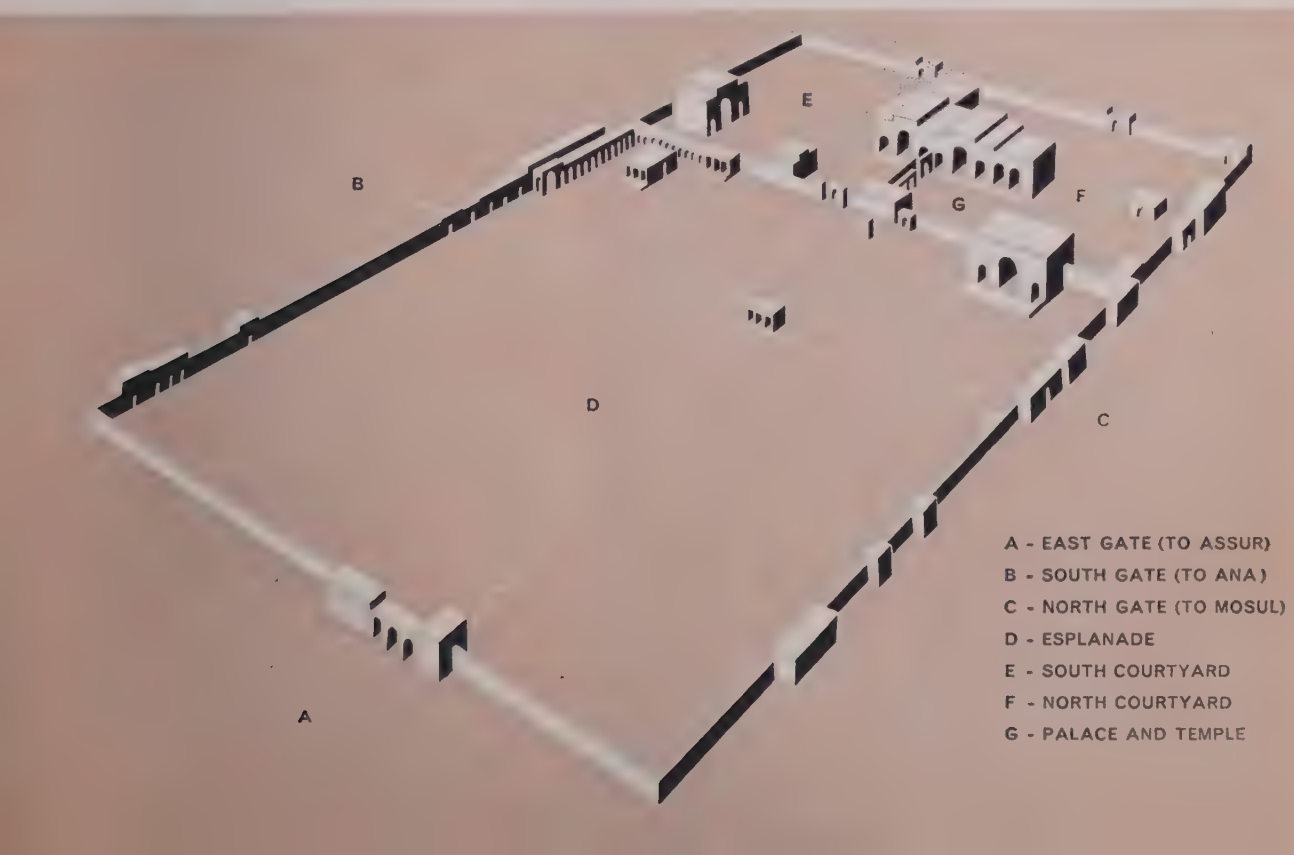
Generally speaking, the Parthians seem to have had no wish to disrupt the existing order. In refraining from entering Seleucia and by camping on the opposite bank of the Tigris, they showed both wisdom and moderation. There are grounds for thinking that a *modus vivendi* based on a compromise between the Greco-Semitic commercial aristocracy and the Arsacid conquerors, was worked out by both parties. To consolidate their position the Parthians built on the site of their camp a great city, Ctesiphon, which became their capital and, later, that of the Sassanian kings.

The circular plan of Ctesiphon was copied in several places and periods. We find it at Hatra, a Parthian fortress built on the Mesopotamian frontier to defend Iran against the Romans, and at Shiz (Takht-i-Suleiman) in Media Atropatene. Foreseeing possible reverses and the need to defend himself in a fortified town against his suzerain Artabanus V, King of Parthia, the rebel Ardashir copied the circular plan of Darabgerd, when building Gor-Firuzabad.

Thus a preoccupation with defence governed Parthian town-planning, and the state of Iran at this time must have much resembled that of mediaeval Europe. The towns had to protect themselves not only against foreign invaders but also against revolts of feudal families bent on overthrowing the ruling king. The existence of principalities governed by vassal-kings whose loyalty to the suzerain could rarely be relied on, and the fact that in the provinces the highest posts were hereditary and inalienable, necessarily weakened the authority of the central power. Every feudal lord had his own army and on the battlefield he and his vassals, free men and serfs, formed a separate unit. At the battle of Carrhae, for example, the cavalry of the Parthian general Surena, which defeated Crassus, was composed of his own subjects.

For all these reasons the planning of the fortifications of towns was of the utmost consequence. The lay-out of the walls in convex curves, enabling the defenders to outflank attackers at a number of points, stemmed from an age-old tradition of the nomads. All the 'barbarians' in their westward drives employed this system, which was taken over and improved on in the West by military engineers of the Middle Ages.

48 - HATRA. PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE PALACE (2nd CENTURY A.D.) — AFTER ANDRAE

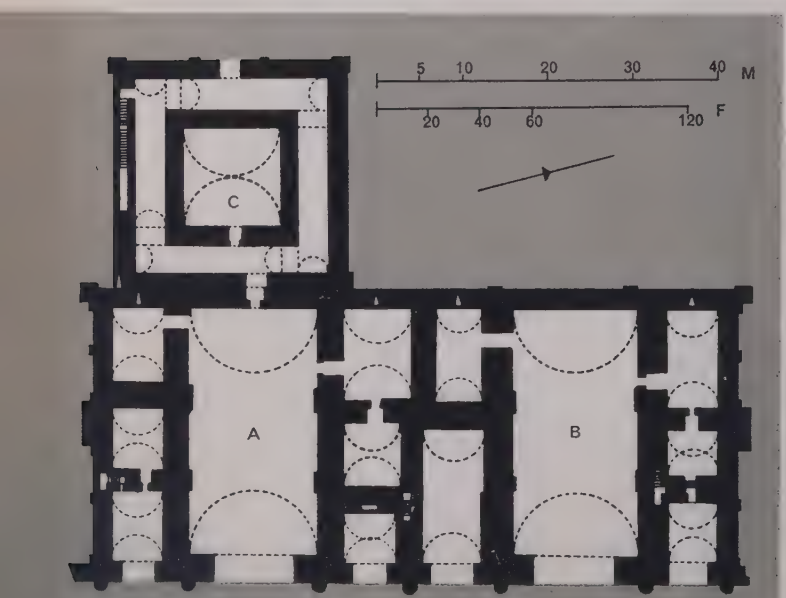


49 - HATRA. FAÇADE OF THE PARTHIAN PALACE (2nd CENTURY A.D.)

Architecture and Monumental Art. On the Plateau itself very few examples of Parthian architecture have been discovered. The chief surviving monuments have been brought to light on its outskirts: in Mesopotamia at Warka, Assur and Hatra; in the eastern provinces at Nysa and Kuh-i-Khwaja.

As in the Achaemenian period, there were two distinct types of building. First there was the so-called 'Babylonian' house with a central courtyard, as at Dura Europos, whose prototype was the palace of Darius at Susa. At Assur and Hatra, on the other hand, we find the typically Iranian style of house with an *iwan*. Under the Parthians this developed into the triple *iwan*, the central hall being usually larger than those on the sides. The flat (terrace) roof was replaced by the vault, generally agreed to have been invented in eastern Iran. By the same token, the column ceased to act as a support; engaged in the pier (unless replaced by a pilaster), it served a purely ornamental purpose. The building materials still were bricks, usually covered with stucco-work or other facings. Sometimes, however, the Parthians kept to the Roman tradition of building with hewn blocks of stone or ashlar masonry, as at Hatra (second century A.D.).

The Assyro-Babylonian builders had not concerned themselves with decorating the exterior of their edifices. Achaemenian architecture showed some advance in this respect, though its glazed bricks and bas-reliefs give an impression of free-standing orthostats rather than of forming part of the edifice itself. The Parthian architects, however, devoted much attention to the façades of buildings and to plastic effects on the outer surfaces of walls. In these, Western elements still played an important part, but they were considerably modified by the Iranians. This may have been due to mere inexpertness, but it may also show that the artists found difficulty



A, B - SOUTH AND NORTH IWANS OF THE PALACE
C - THE TEMPLE

50 - HATRA. PLAN OF THE IWANS AND THE TEMPLE (2nd CENTURY A.D.)

in assimilating an art so alien to the spirit of the East. Whatever the reason—clumsiness or an allergy—in the result we find a superficial ornamentation grafted on to an architecture that is purely indigenous, as in the stucco decorations of the façade of the Palace of Assur.

The architectural use of stucco made its first appearance in Iran in Parthian times. At Nysa, during the Philhellenic period (third and second century B.C.), clay alone had been employed. Thanks to its greater solidity when set, stucco was an improvement on terracotta and the Elamites had made use of it instead of mortar (in the second millennium B.C.) in the building of brick vaults. Nothing testifies more clearly to the gradual incursion of Orientalism into the Greco-Roman world than this revival of the employment of architectonic stucco. There is little doubt that it began in the eastern provinces of Iran. Thereafter stucco work as a substitute for terracotta ornamentation came into general use over a wide area, from Kuh-i-Khwaja in Seistan to Assur and Warka in Mesopotamia.

No less Iranian is the decoration in 'masks' on the Palace of Hatra. Carved in stone, these faces are a revival of the Proto-Iranian motif of 'heads cut short at the chin' (Cemetery B, Sialk) which so often figure in Luristan bronzes. We find similar heads in Parthian art at Dura, Babylon, Ecbatana and Qum. Henceforth they had a considerable vogue throughout the Roman world, in South Russia and even in Siberia.

51 - HATRA. MAN'S HEAD (2nd CENTURY A.D.)

55 - KUH-I-KHWAJA. EROS ON HORSEBACK. FRESCO (1st CENTURY A.D.)

Following a fashion originating in the West, there was, it seems, a rapid development of wall painting under the Parthians. It imposed its own rules on the stucco reliefs with which it was combined. The sculptor's chisel at once implemented effects of plasticity and traced geometric forms repeated *ad infinitum*, giving the surface the aspect of embroidery. This pictorial technique can be seen in a panel from the Palace of Kuh-i-Khwaja, on which Greek key patterns, overlapping circles and Asiatic merlons stand out on a dark ground.

Also in this palace (situated on an island in the middle of Lake Hamun in Seistan) we can trace the progressive improvements in mural painting. Here, Western influences are unmistakable. The arrangement in small separate panels shows that this art had reached a relatively advanced stage. We find acanthus leaves grafted on to a palmette of Oriental origin; and this hybrid form was the germ of a motif that came to figure frequently in stucco decorations of the Sassanian period. On the other hand this winged Eros rising above his steed in a poise of arrested movement is wholly Hellenistic in inspiration. But, as a rule, the art traditions of ancient Asia make their presence felt in the treatment of even the most typically Greco-Roman prototypes.

KUH-I-KHWAJA. STUCCO DECORATION (1st CENTURY A.D.)

56 - KUH-I-KHWAJA. KING AND QUEEN. FRESCO (1st CENTURY A.D.)

The fresco of the 'Three Gods' strikes a new note, both in its religious significance and in its composition. Here for the first time an attempt is made to represent figures in depth, i.e. one behind the other—a notable advance which, however, was not followed up. Another picture represents a royal couple. Noteworthy here are the unconstrained attitudes and the graceful curve of the queen's body; the artist is obviously attempting to impart an emotive quality to his figures. Such themes, however, were essentially foreign to Achaemenian monumental art, which normally excluded female figurations, though exceptionally these occur on the Erghili relief and on some Greco-Persian intaglios. The Oriental conception of the portrait prevails, rather, in the head of a man shown side-face, with his bust presented frontally. Here the linear design of the face reduces its natural structure to an ornamental pattern.

Devoid of movement, indifferent to narrative, and impervious to the life of forms, Iranian aesthetic resisted the inroads of Greco-Roman art. Even in his technique the Kuh-i-Khwaja fresco painter reverted to Assyrian procedures: very shallow modelling, dark outlines, patches of black bringing out such

57 - KUH-I-KHWAJA. THE THREE GODS. FRESCO (1st CENTURY A.D.)

58 - KUH-I-KHWAJA. MAN'S HEAD IN PROFILE. FRESCO (1st CENTURY A.D.)

details as hair and beards. Though these artists may have heard the 'call of the West' and been disposed to welcome foreign models, they were, it seems, incapable of assimilating them.

Too little is known as yet about the Parthian art of this region for us to be able to trace the sources of the Hellenistic infiltration. Herzfeld, who discovered and copied these frescoes, believed them to have been influenced by Greco-Bactrian art: an art of which we know next to nothing, since even at Nysa it is hardly perceptible, despite successive overlays of Philhellenic culture. May we not, rather, see a further indication of that Greco-Roman influence which seemingly affected the art of Hatra in the second century A.D. and, advancing towards the east, also impregnated to some extent the Greco-Buddhist art of north-west India? For, if the acanthus palmette points the way, as we believe, to the stucco panels in the Sassanian palaces of the third century A.D., the 'Three Gods' also has a counterpart in Sassanian bas-reliefs of the same period. And in all these works this conception of Greek art is given expression within an Oriental, more precisely Iranian, context.

Parthian art is more in evidence, despite an admixture of foreign trends, at Dura Europos on the Euphrates. In a temple dedicated in A.D. 70 to the Palmyrene gods, religious paintings of different periods have been discovered and all alike testify to a revival of ancient Oriental art.

One of the most representative pieces is the so-called 'fresco of Conon' (first century A.D.) which depicts a sacrifice being made, on behalf of a family, by two priests wearing white robes and tiaras. Nothing here suggests human beings in action, as a Western artist would have done in depicting such a scene. All is immobility, rigidity, uncompromising severity; the only hint of movement is the gesture of the priest stretching his arm towards the altar where the sacrifice is taking place. Here the frontality differs from that of Achaemenian art. It is from the art of Luristan, on the confines of Iran, that it presumably derives, and it stresses the ritual significance of the scene. For any idea of painting an individual portrait is as rigorously excluded in Parthian as it is in Achaemenian art. On the other hand, a concern with the spiritual implications of the theme due to Semitic (Mesopotamian) influence, is evident in the way the sombre gaze of the figures seems to be directed towards a timeless, faraway world. As for the composition, the artist's obvious desire to fill the scene with figures probably stems from Hellenistic art; but, being perfunctorily disposed without any regard for harmony on either side of the central officiant, the others seem curiously indifferent to what he is doing.

60 - ASSUR. PRIEST SACRIFICING AT AN ALTAR. DRAWING ON A POTSHERD

The Dura fresco painters began by sketching their figures in outline before applying the coat of tempera. They make no attempt to render the third dimension, volumes of bodies or sinuosities of garments. For despite an intermingling of Hellenism and Semitic strains from Mesopotamia, the art of Dura Europos keeps to Iranian disciplines.

59 - DURA EUROPOS. TEMPLE OF THE PALMYRENE GODS. SACRIFICE OF CONON. FRESCO (1st CENTURY A.D.)

61 - ÇAVUCH KÖI. HUNTING AND BANQUET SCENES (LATE 5th CENTURY B.C.) — ISTANBUL MUSEUM

The frescoes in the Mithraeum of Dura celebrate the god's prowess as a mighty hunter. Here all is typically Iranian: the frontal presentation of the hunter riding a horse shown in side view; the embroidered garments consisting of a short tunic that overlaps the trousers tied in at the ankle; the rider's foot pointing to the ground; the horses' trappings with round phalerae; the landscape indicated by a few isolated plants. Set out in quincunx formation, the animals are shown, as always in Greco-Persian intaglios, at the 'flying gallop,' with their legs off the ground. And yet the general effect is one of immobility or, rather, arrested movement.

We find the same characteristics in a votive painting, also at Dura, which

62 - DURA EUROPOS. HORSEMAN HUNTING ONAGERS (2nd CENTURY A.D.) — LOUVRE

conforms to the tradition of Achaemenian funerary art. The action proceeds lengthwise, as in a frieze, and the two parts into which it is divided are linked together by an Eros, symbol of the love felt by his kinsmen for the dead man. Contrasting with the hunting scene on the right, alluding to his life on earth, is the depiction of the ritual feast on the left. True, the conception of this work can hardly have been wholly original, and the painter probably took guidance from a Greco-Persian prototype of the Achaemenian period. These two iconographic motifs are again combined in a bas-relief from Çavuch Köi (Asia Minor) now in the Istanbul Museum.

Parthian 'folk' art of the period is illustrated at Dura Europos by numerous

graffiti on the walls of houses, on which people of humble estate—soldiers, hunters, caravaneers and the like—amused themselves sketching scenes of the chase and warfare. The perennity of the art of the Greco-Persian intaglios is demonstrated by these graffiti: scenes of a boar hunt with the animal dashing out of cover and of elands racing away at the flying gallop. We are also shown a Parthian clibanarius, protected like his horse with a coat of mail, charging lance in hand. He belonged to the heavy cavalry wearing scale armour and equipped with swords and lances which always in a war of manœuvre provided a formidable striking force. These small, impromptu sketches reflect all the characteristics of the large-scale Parthian painting of the same period.

66 - BISUTUN. PARTHIAN PRINCE SACRIFICING AT AN ALTAR (1st-2nd CENTURIES A.D.) — IN SITU

At Bisutun again, on a free-standing rock, we see a Parthian prince sacrificing at an altar. The figure is carved in low relief and its presentation is strictly frontal. Details of the costume are faithfully rendered and the stiffly constrained attitude resembles that of the sacrificer in the Conon fresco at Dura Europos.

67 - TANG-I-SARWAK. PRINCE HOLDING FORTH THE RING TO HIS VASSALS (C. 200 A.D.) — IN SITU

The reliefs at Tang-i-Sarwak, carved on a rock in a high valley on the spurs of the Zagros mountains at the boundary of south-eastern Khuzistan and the province of Fars, are attributed to a ruler of Elymais, a vassal state under Parthian domination. Henning dates them to the late second or early third century A.D. Neither the art nor the technique of these reliefs has much to commend it; indeed their execution is inferior even to that of the three works we have just described, particularly noticeable being their lack of animation in the rendering of detail. None the less they strike a new note and point the way to the 'continuous narrative' rock-carvings of the Sassanian period. The theme invited treatment on these lines, relating as it does to successive incidents in the life of a royal hero. He is represented as a horseman, slaying a lion, then engaged in single combat with an enemy—scenes befitting his high rank and no doubt much relished by a race that 'lived on horseback.' Elsewhere, drawn on a larger scale than his attendants, he is seen enthroning a prince(?);

68 - TANG-I-SARWAK. ENTHRONEMENT OF A PRINCE OF ELYMAIS (C. 200 A.D.) — IN SITU

then worshipping before an altar shaped like a baetylus and adorned with a diadem. On the left of the altar, seated in the Iranian posture on an Oriental throne supported by three eagles, he holds forth a ring (symbol of power) to two of his vassals. Next comes a scene of the investiture of a prince by a god, followed by another showing a king, in the chain armour of a Parthian cataphractarius, spearing an enemy. As already suggested, this anecdotal art seems to have been a new development.

69 - TANG-I-SARWAK. HORSEMAN (C. 200 A.D.) — IN SITU

70 - SUSA. ARTABANUS V HANDING THE RING TO KHWASAK, SATRAP OF SUSA (A.D. 215) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

To much the same category belongs a bas-relief recently found at Susa which represents Artabanus V handing the ring of power to a local satrap, Khwasak: a scene resembling that of the Tang-i-Sarwak bas-relief. It was apparently intended to serve as a funerary stele in honour of the satrap, and bears a date equivalent to A.D. 215. The technique is interesting: the figures

have been made to stand out 'in reserve' by cutting away the surfaces around them and the slight relief thus obtained produces the effect of incised drawing. Only after this was done were details of the garments added. Here, too, we find the strictly frontal presentation that is a characteristic feature of all Parthian art (exemplified also at Tang-i-Sarwak and on the free-standing rock at Bisutun). But the decline in draughtsmanship is sadly evident.

We will now turn to the other extremity of the Parthian world and the monumental tomb of Antiochus I of Commagene (69-34 B.C.) at Nimrud Dagh. Greek by education, this king prided himself on his Achaemenid descent. On the western terrace, among gods of colossal dimensions seated on thrones, stood a statue of the deified king, wearing the characteristic Iranian pointed cap. The king's syncretic tendencies are evidenced by the fact that the Greek language is used for enumerating the deities of the Iranian pantheon: Zeus-Ahuramazda, Helios-Mithras wearing the mitre of the Parthian kings, Herakles-Verethragna who has a moustache of the Achaemenian type, and also the goddess Commagene, symbol and guardian of the land bearing her name. We are also shown the king, under the protection of his ancestor Darius the Great and wearing a tiara carved with figurative motifs, being greeted by Mithras and Verethragna. The eagle and the lion keeping watch on the monument have the same pose as the guardian lions at the gate of the palace of Persepolis.

71 - NIMRUD DAGH. THE BURIAL SITE OF ANTIOCHUS I OF COMMAGENE (69-34

72 - NIMRUD DAGH. TOMB OF ANTIOCHUS I, EAST TERRACE. SEATED DEITIES

75 - NIMRUD DAGH. HEAD OF KING ANTIOCHUS I OF COMMAGENE (69-34 B.C.) — IN SITU

78 - NIMRUD DAGH. (A) ANTIOCHUS I (B) DARIUS I (69-34 B.C.) — IN SITU

In such works we find Iranian and Hellenistic viewpoints united on the plane of art and religion. On the one hand is the taste for the colossal, for 'seeing big,' deriving from an age-old tradition taken over by the Achaemenian artists. (It was now not only to make good in Iran but to spread towards the lands of the East.) On the other hand, the anthropomorphic figuration of the gods is non-Iranian; it was Greek art that had humanized the Olympians and sometimes associated them with the activities of mortals. After discovering the canon of ideal beauty, the Greek sculptor treated the nude for its own sake, and the Nimrud Dagh sculptor, too, attempts to render plastic values.

77 - NIMRUD DAGH. HEAD OF THE GODDESS COMMAGENE (69-34 B.C.) — IN SITU

79 - NIMRUD DAGH. ANTIOCHUS AND HERAKLES-VERETHRAGNA (69-34 B.C.) — IN SITU

But a mere glance at the effigies of Antiochus and Herakles-Verethragna is enough to show how deeply rooted were Iranian art traditions and the sculptor's deference to them. Though a faint hint of Greek art is visible in the position of the feet, he keeps to the conventions of immobility and flat or near-flat planes. Frontal presentation, one of the most striking idiosyncrasies of Parthian art, is not as yet *de rigueur*. Also, the shallow relief conforms to the Achaemenian tradition.

On the 'horoscope stele' figuring forth the constellation of the Lion, the presentation of the animal in side-view with its head slewed round towards the

80 - NIMRUD DAGH. ANTIOCHUS AND APOLLO-MITHRAS (69-34 B.C.) — IN SITU

spectator brings us back to the Persepolis reliefs and the early phase of Median art.

The combined influences of western and eastern repertories are no less evident in the typically Iranian scenes of investiture. Thus when the artist has to associate Apollo with Mithras he reserves the aureole of rays for the sun god, since it signifies the light it is his function to dispense, but the *barsom* the figure is holding is an emblem of the Iranian deity worshipped by the king. It is interesting to see how these traditions of the remote Persian past are implemented by the more recent art forms of the 'New East' of the Arsacids, notably as regards costumes and weapons.

Thus the art of Nimrud Dagh, though still respecting some of the canons of Greek art and also keeping by and large to Achaemenian procedures, reveals an influx of new tendencies coming from the Parthian world, which soon took effect in the lands on the outskirts of the Iranian empire.

Less than a century later we find signs of Parthian influence in the arts of Palmyra. At the beginning of the Christian era, thanks to its foreign trade and native army, Palmyra had come to rank as one of the chief cities in the far-flung Roman commonwealth. Seyrig's researches have made it clear that archaic Palmyrene art had much in common with the Greco-Oriental art that flourished, under the Seleucids, from the Euphrates to India. Throughout the second and third centuries, until its downfall in A.D. 272, Palmyra acted as an outpost, facing Romewards, of the East, and in it Parthian art was easily acclimatized. Here, too, the Parthian encounter with Greco-Roman art took place. For if the local architecture reflects Mediterranean taste, the bas-reliefs conform to the Parthian practice of subordinating sculpture to architecture, with the result that Palmyrene art is purely decorative.

82 - BUST OF VOLOGASES III (A.D. 148-192) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

Frontal representation prevails in the religious and funerary art of Palmyra. We find it in the busts of the deceased affixed to the receptacles containing the mummified body. The principle of symmetry is rigorously observed, as in the bust of Zabdibol (C. A.D. 100). The precisely similar treatment of both sides of the face, the hugeness of the eyes with their gaze intently fixed on the spectator, the precision of the outlines, the schematism of the folds of drapery—all alike reveal the sculptor's desire to stress the spiritual, hieratic significance of the effigy. The idea behind these busts must have come from the East. A small bust of a Parthian king of the Arsacid dynasty bears this out. It has an inscription in Pahlavi-Parthian: 'Arsaces Vologases,' and presumably Vologases III is meant, for it resembles the effigy on coins minted by this king. Its realism and the tranquil dignity of the king's expression rank this little masterpiece among the best examples of Parthian sculpture, though in view of its small size it well may be the work of a gem-cutter or a medallist.

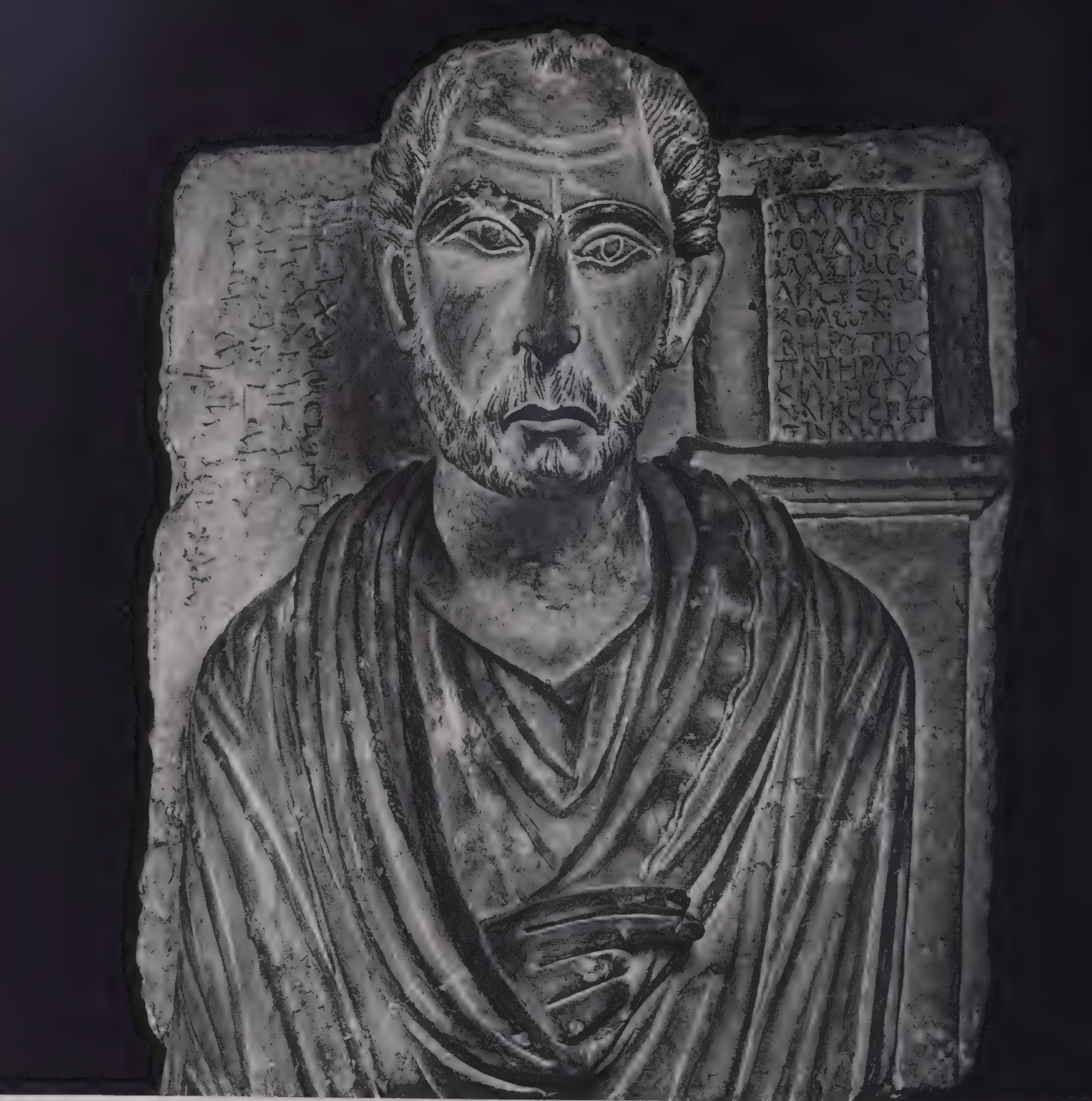
81 - PALMYRA. BUST OF ZABDIBOL (C. A.D. 100) — DAMASCUS MUSEUM

86 - PALMYRA. SACRIFICIAL SCENE (A.D. 154)

A study of the religious bas-reliefs of Palmyra reveals still closer affinities with the art of Parthia. Parthian influence is plain to see in a scene of sacrifice (A.D. 154) in which the worshipper and his fire-altar occupy the centre of the composition. On each side is a warrior deity riding a horse represented in side-view, whereas the rider himself is shown full-face, like the riders in the Dura frescoes and graffiti. There is no spiritual link between the gods to whom sacrifice is being made and the worshipper—i.e. no attempt at narrative effect.

This addiction to frontal representation is yet more clearly evidenced in another relief, a scene of the offering of incense. The alignment of a row of gods, all exactly alike, conforms to the lay-out of the Persepolis bas-reliefs, inherited from Elamite art in its declining phase. But whereas the Elamite sculptor (like the sculptors of the Achaemenid kings) kept to the traditional methods by representing kings and their retinues in sideview, Parthian art by its insistence on frontality deprives the scene of any cohesion or animation and imparts to it an essentially symbolic value.

87 - (A) PALMYRA. OFFERING OF INCENSE
(B) PERSEPOLIS. MEDIAN AND PERSIAN GUARDS



88 - PALMYRA. BUST OF M.J. MAXIMUS ARISTIDES (2nd-3rd CENTURIES A.D.) — LOUVRE

The intermingling of Parthian and Greco-Roman trends in the art of Palmyra is also evidenced by the inscriptions, in which Greek is occasionally replaced by local dialects. But it is most clearly seen in the indigenous types of garments figuring in Palmyrene sculpture.

89 - PALMYRA. BUST OF JARHAI (2nd-3rd CENTURIES A.D.) — LOUVRE

True, the Greek type of costume was the rule in funerary busts like that of Zabdibol, described on page 69. But, in the tombs built by prosperous merchants and members of the upper class, the dead man is dressed in the Parthian style.

90 - PALMYRA. HYPOGEUM OF ATENATAN. TRICLINIUM OF MAQQAI (A.D. 229) — IN SITU

A striking example of this custom is provided by the lower register of the funerary triclinium of Maqqai (A.D. 229) in which the costumes, the weapons and the trappings of the horse are typically Parthian.

Though Semitic in origin and religion and forming part, politically, of the Roman world, the Palmyrenes maintained close contact with Parthian material culture. Their business connections were chiefly in the East, with that wealthy land of Persia which their caravans crossed on their way to the outlying regions of north-western India or to the shores of the Persian Gulf.

91 - PALMYRA. SOLDIERS (2nd CENTURY A.D.) — LOUVRE →

92 - PALMYRA. FUNERARY RELIEF (2nd-3rd CENTURIES A.D.) — DAMASCUS MUSEUM

94 - PALMYRA. FUNERARY BUST OF AMMIAT (2nd-4th CENTURIES A.D.) — LOUVRE

97 - HATRA. RUINS OF THE TEMPLES (2nd CENTURY A.D.)

The Palmyrenes are known to have established trading centres in several large Parthian towns and on islands in the Gulf. They are also known to have collected works of art produced in the great centres of Iranian culture, where they purchased, *inter alia*, bronze statues (no longer extant) which they brought back in their caravans from Seleucia on the Tigris and Susa. Thus, Parthian artists catered for the wealthy merchant princes of Palmyra, until the final destruction of that luxurious oasis of culture in the sands of the Syrian desert.

Our knowledge of Parthian temples is still very incomplete. None has been found on the Plateau itself and once again it is the outlying provinces of the Empire that fill the gap. To judge by the temples at Hatra and Taxila, on the east bank of the Indus, the plan of the Iranian sanctuary of this period derived from that of Achaemenian temples. It comprised a square central room surrounded by an ambulatory. A staircase, built into the wall, led up to the roof where were the fire altars, which in Achaemenian times were built at ground level. Religious rites still took place in the open, near the temple.

Practically nothing is known about how far the Parthians took over the religion practised in Iran before their coming. Recent archaeological research and a study of the current religious traditions have made it clear that Zoroastrianism did not play the leading part ascribed to it by earlier writers on the subject. This view was based on the fact recorded by Tacitus that when Tiridates of Armenia, brother of Vologases I, visited Rome where he was to receive his crown from the hands of Nero, he refused to go by sea for fear of polluting the sacred element of water. But it must be remembered that water had always been venerated by the Iranians. This is confirmed by Herodotus, and it is also known that the deity symbolizing this element was Anahita. There has been a tendency to overlook the importance of another passage in Tacitus (xv. 29), which states that Tiridates refrained from placing his crown at the feet of Nero's statue until he had 'sacrificed victims as was customary.' This goes to show that the practice of blood sacrifices still prevailed in Iran in the first century A.D. And the sacrifice of living animals was prohibited by Zoroastrianism.

96 - PALMYRA. VEILED WOMEN (1st CENTURY A.D.) — IN SITU

Though the triad Ahuramazda-Mithras-Anahita continued to be worshipped under the Parthians, the cult of Anahita soon took the lead. All the Iranian temples mentioned in the historical texts were dedicated to her. Most revered of all was the temple of Shiz (Takht-i-Suleiman), the great religious centre of Media Atropatene. It sheltered a community of Magi and was under the rule of the female branch of the Arsacid dynasty.

In the temples the figures of the gods were carved sometimes in relief and sometimes in the round. The only known example of the former is a relief from the first temple at Hatra showing a god of the netherworld, Hades-Nergal-Ahriman. He is standing, posed full-face in the Parthian convention, dressed in Parthian-Iranian style and holding on a leash the three-headed monster Cerberus, watch-dog of the Lower Regions. On the left are the seven emblems (signifying the seven planets) which also figured on the Luristan bronzes. Though here they may seem to be treated in the same manner as the symbols on coins struck by the Roman emperors Caracalla and Alexander Severus, they none the less link up with old Iranian traditions.

Technically speaking, Parthian relief-work gives the impression of a throwback to a primitive type of art. Yet in its compositional schemes and range of subject-matter it made decisive progress, by discarding all that Hellenism had grafted on to Iranian art, and thus cleared the ground for a vigorous Neo-Iranian movement. The transition from Greco-Iranian to Neo-Iranian, no simple process, appears to have taken place in the course of the first century A.D. This dating, however, though it has much to commend it, does not necessarily rule out the existence of Neo-Iranian works in previous centuries.

Such works as the rock relief at Bisutun, showing a prince sacrificing at an altar, the stele of Artabanus V at Susa and the cult relief at Hatra derive from an art differing from Greco-Roman art. They show a strict observance of frontality that is not found on official Achaemenian monuments, but was customary on the Plateau in the period of the first Iranians of Sialk and Luristan. Thus we have here a revival, which assuredly owed nothing to Western influences, of an earlier type of art.

Only a few specimens of sculpture in the round have been found on the Plateau: stone or marble statues, and figures cast in bronze.

One of the most impressive is undoubtedly the great bronze statue of a Parthian prince from Shami. More than life-size, it produces an effect of massive stability and illustrates that taste for the colossal which we have already seen in the tomb of Antiochus I of Commagene. Its date is problematic. Assuming that the Shami temple was one of the two sanctuaries pillaged by Mithridates I during the reconquest of the kingdom of Elymais after his defeat of Demetrius II (139 B.C.), the works of art found at Shami cannot be later than the mid-second century B.C. Indeed this statue could very well (despite the typically Parthian garments) belong to the previous period.

98 - HATRA. NERGAL, GOD OF THE UNDERWORLD, AND HIS CONSORT, IN MAJESTY (2nd CENTURY A.D.) — BAGHDAD MUSEUM

It is of interest to compare the Shami statue with the marble figure of Uthal, king of Hatra, which was also placed in a temple and dates to the second century A.D. Here, rigid frontality is combined with an extremely detailed rendering of the king's costume. The general effect is of an inert mass, which the gesture of adoration completely fails to bring to life. This formalism is characteristic of all Neo-Iranian culture, one of whose chief centres was situated in Mesopotamia. But, though the Neo-Iranian artists were always prepared to draw on Mesopotamian models—the king's head is evidence of this—the rise to power of the Parthians did much to further the renascence of Oriental traditions which now was taking place.

When we turn to the statue from the temple of Shami, we find less constraint in both style and execution. The forthright gesture of the left arm differentiates it from the attitude of frozen immobility of the Hatra figure. Also, the conflict between frontalism and free movement, between form and power, is here resolved. The head, unnaturally small in proportion to the body, conforms to the traditional 'idealism' of Achaemenian art. Notable, too, is the stress laid on the typically Parthian costume (coat and wide trousers), but, being discreetly handled, this insistence does not impair the plastic unity of the whole. Finally, we may point out that the head seems to have been made elsewhere; both the metal employed and the execution differentiate it from the body, which may have been cast on the spot.

99 - TEMPLE OF SHAMI. PARTHIAN PRINCE (2nd CENTURY B.C.?) — BAGHDAD MUSEUM

100 - HATRA. UTHAL, KING OF HATRA (2nd CENTURY B.C.) — MOSUL MUSEUM

101 - HATRA. MAN'S HEAD (2nd CENTURY A.D.) — BAGHDAD MUSEUM

Some figures from Hatra still display a taste for technical refinements, in which we see a lingering influence of Achaemenian art; they also illustrate the curious 'architectural' style of hair-dressing then in fashion. These sculptures, obviously the work of skilled technicians, convey a sense of spiritual values, due to that rigid frontalism which was no less characteristic of the Parthians than a naturalism based on close observation of costumes, coiffures and jewellery.

102 - HATRA. HEAD OF A PARTHIAN KING (2nd CENTURY A.D.) — BAGHDAD MUSEUM →

103 - HATRA. ALLAT, GODDESS OF WAR, FLANKED BY TWO LESSER DEITIES (1st CENTURY A.D.) — BAGHDAD MUSEUM

105 - HATRA. SANATRUQ, KING OF HATRA (1st-2nd CENTURIES A.D.) — BAGHDAD MUSEUM

107 - (A) SHAMI. PARTHIAN PRINCE (2nd CENT. B.C.). (B) SUSA. PARTHIAN QUEEN (LATE 1st CENT. B.C.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

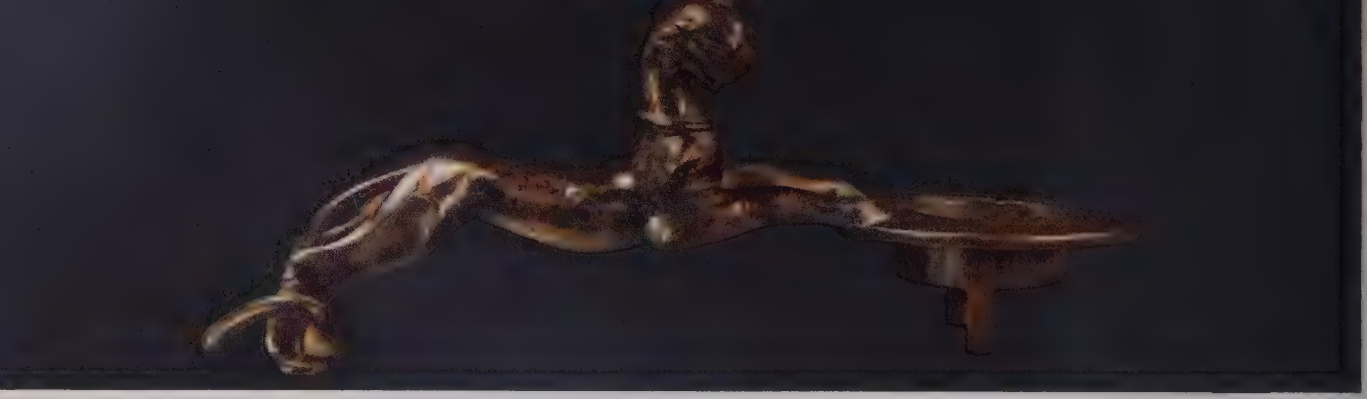
The Shami temple has yielded a large number of fragments of bronze and marble statues. The small head of a prince, his hair clasped by a diadem, must have been the work of an artist familiar with Western techniques. To Greco-Iranian art belongs the marble head of a queen found at Susa and thought to represent Musa, wife of Phraates IV; in which case this head can be dated to the end of the first century B.C. The queen's crown is Achaemenian and the artist's chief concern seems to have been to make a perfect likeness. He has signed his name in Greek: 'Antiochus, son of Dryas.' Judging by its similarity to the effigy of the Parthian king Orodes II (9-6 B.C.) on his coins, a small bronze bust, which probably formed the head of a sceptre, may be assigned to his reign. The diadem clasped round a low cap, the broad sweep of the eyebrows and the torque seem to confirm this attribution, though the two typically Parthian tufts of hair emerging from the headdress are lacking.

108 - BUST OF A PARTHIAN PRINCE (1st CENTURY B.C.) — BERLIN MUSEUM →

109 - SUSA. HEAD OF A BEARDED MAN (1st-3rd CENTURIES A.D.) — LOUVRE

Probably a fragment of a life-size statue, the male head found at Susa is unmistakably in the Oriental tradition. The flat, linear conception of the face and the rendering of details by incisions associate it with the technique of Neo-Iranian bas-reliefs. Moreover, the blank stare of the wide-open eyes recalls that of the painted figures at Dura Europos. Despite a certain lack of vigour in the curves, the strongly marked planes give this stone head the aspect of a solidly integrated mass in which all ephemeral elements have crystallized into timeless essences.

110 - HATRA. WARRIOR IN COMMANDER'S UNIFORM (1st-3rd CENTURIES A.D.) — MOSUL MUSEUM →



111 - LURISTAN. INCENSE-BURNER (1st CENTURY A.D.) — CLEVELAND MUSEUM

Decorative and Applied Art. The Parthians took considerable interest in the decorative arts. Their skill in casting bronze is vouched for by some small, finely made objects in which we find many of the traits distinctive of the Achaemenian style of animal portraiture. An example is a bronze incense-burner with a handle in the shape of a cheetah; here the supple body and gaping jaws have a family likeness to those of a remarkable animal figure in the Berenson Collection. Both animals are of the same species and have evidently been trained for hunting, since they have collars round their necks. The cup-shaped or curly motifs on the hides are a conventional device for giving the idea of fur. But the subjects differ; in one case the animal is about to parry the attack of a wild beast it has tracked down on the steppe; the other animal is a female playing with her cub. This homeliness of the theme suggests a Mesopotamian creation and this is borne out by the provenance of the piece in question.

Eulogized by classical historians, the culture and refinement of the Parthian aristocracy are most clearly evidenced by the articles of personal adornment figuring on the Hatra statues and on the funerary bas-reliefs at Palmyra. However, though the Parthians certainly practised the art of jewel-making, little is known about it. The gold earrings found at Nippur were obviously copied from an Achaemenian model. On them we recognize the characteristic arrangement in concentric circles, the outer rim being composed of human faces

112 - NIHAWAND(?), DEILAMAN, NIPPUR. PARTHIAN JEWELLERY (1st-3rd CENTURIES A.D.)

113 - MESOPOTAMIA. PANTHER AND CUB — BERENSON COLLECTION, FLORENCE

'cut short at the chin,' and the same type of clasp and pear-shaped pendants.

From the Nihawand treasure came a gold belt buckle, half of which is in the British Museum and the other in the Metropolitan. It is adorned with scenes of men and animals fighting: subjects always popular with those warriors and hunters born, the Parthians. Decorated with an eagle gripping an ibex with its talons, the clasp resembles the one which, according to Curtius Rufus, fastened an Achaemenian king's cloak. This motif is framed by sockets once containing gems, while the end-pieces are ornamented with lotus buds flanked by bisected acanthus leaves—the only Greek elements in this object. The use of precious stones (or enamel) testifies to the continuance of that fondness for vivid colours which was so characteristic of the Iranians. To the same treasure belongs a gold winged Eros riding a hybrid animal whose legs and body were originally inset with precious stones. Hellenistic in origin, this Eros has affinities with one of the motifs of the Kuh-i-Khwaja frescoes.

Few specimens of Parthian silverware have been discovered. An interesting piece is the (incomplete) rhyton adorned with the foreparts of an ibex in the manner of the ivory rhytons from Nysa. The survival of Achaemenian traditions is evident in the craftsman's rendering of the eyes. The multilobal silver bowl in the Foroughi Collection (also obtained from Deilaman) can be dated to the Parthian period on the strength of the Pahlavi inscription on its base.

114 - DEILAMAN, NIHAWAND(?). IBEX, SILVER BOWL, GOLD EROS (2nd-3rd CENTURIES A.D.)

115 - SUSA. GOD(?) (1st-2nd CENTURIES A.D.) — LOUVRE

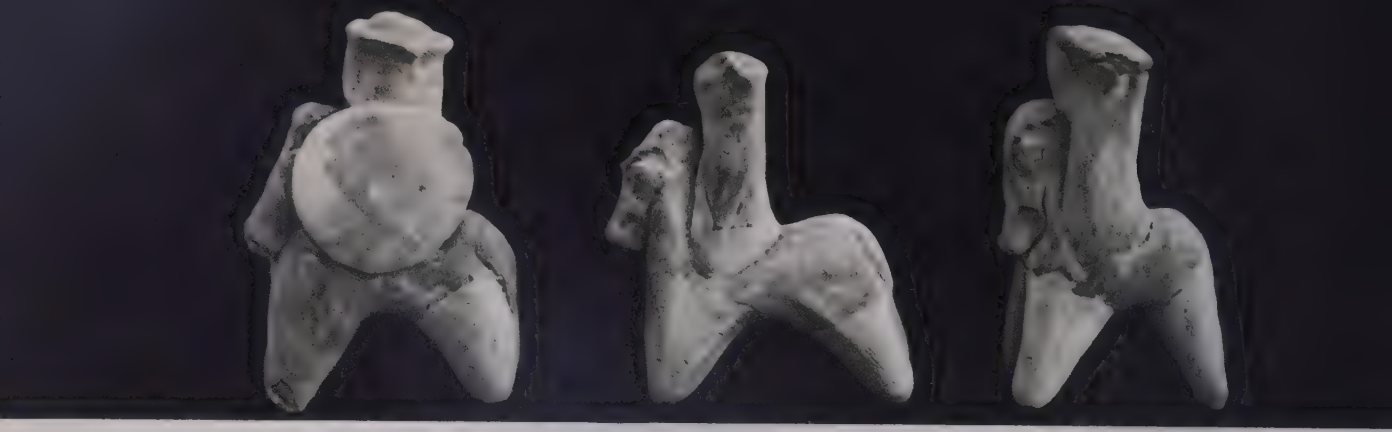
Our excavations of the Seleucid and Parthian levels at Susa have demonstrated the existence of a mixed population in which Iranians and Semites rubbed shoulders with Greeks and Macedonians. Thus in one area native houses with central courts stood beside villas with courtyards having peristyles, tiled roofs adorned with terracotta acroteria, and living rooms embellished with frescoes.

Near the graveyards were potters' workshops, and we have found dozens of clay figures representing tutelary deities on the cemetery sites. The rapid extension of the cult of Herakles in the Parthian dominions led to the production

116 - SUSA. (A) HERAKLES (B) SACRIFICIAL SCENE (C) GODDESS (2nd-1st CENTURIES B.C.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

of many effigies of this Greco-Roman god. But there were also reliefs whose ethnic characteristics and costumes retained an Oriental cast. Sacrificial scenes and representations of Artemis-Nanaia corresponded to the many representations—in bone—of the 'naked goddess' found in tombs. The 'grotesque' Alexandrian style co-existed with the indigenous art and there gradually developed a distinctively Greco-Parthian type of sculpture. A terracotta *Emblema* represents a nude goddess pressing her breast and catching the milk in a cup held in her left hand. There are traces of Western influence in this work, though both subject and setting are Oriental. It is a new version of the 'naked goddess' of Fecundity.

117 - SUSA. (A) CHILD (3rd-2nd CENT. B.C.). TEHERAN MUSEUM. (B) GODDESS OF FECUNDITY (2nd CENTURY B.C.) — LOUVRE



118 - SUSA. THREE PARTHIAN HORSEMEN (1st-3rd CENTURIES A.D.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

We also discovered great numbers of those small horsemen, roughly modelled by hand, which already, under the Achaemenians, had made their way to all the countries, including Egypt, through which the conquering Iranians passed. Some wear the pointed Iranian cap, like the *bashylk* adorning figurines of the same type in Mesopotamia and Syria. Others have the flat *causia* of the Macedonian soldier, who was usually equipped with a round buckler (never used by the Iranian cavalryman). Elsewhere, under Hellenistic influence, these figures were moulded in low relief and the posture of their rearing horses resembles that of the horse carved on some Sassanian plates. A figurine of a mourner repeats the attitude of the bronze statuettes from Luristan.

119 - PARTHIAN ART. PARTHIAN RIDER — LOUVRE

121 - (A) MESOPOTAMIA. RECLINING GODDESS — BERLIN MUSEUM. (B) WARKA. RECLINING PARTHIAN CLIBANARIUS — BRITISH MUSEUM

Semitic influence is evident in the languorously reclining goddess shown above—a theme well known in Babylonia. A Parthian clibanarius is represented in the same attitude, participating in a funeral feast, cup in hand. Another terracotta plaque illustrates a religious motif: a Parthian noble (whose posture none the less is strictly frontal) doing homage to a goddess standing in a shrine. And another represents a clibanarius about to spear a lion.

These productions of local workshops should not be summarily dismissed as mere journeyman's work, but judged on their own merits. For though limited

122 - PARTHIAN ART. HUNTING SCENE — BRITISH MUSEUM

123 - PARTHIAN ART. PARTHIAN NOBLE BEFORE A GODDESS (2nd-3rd CENTURIES A.D.) — BERLIN MUSEUM

to a narrow range of iconographic themes, the craftsman always made a point of including details of everyday life in settings of a religious, military, private or official order. Down to the crudely executed figurines this art, racy of the soil, was exactly to the taste of the public for whom it catered. Hence the immediate appeal of these 'living pictures' of the common people of Parthia who thronged the shops and streets in the vicinity of cemeteries and temples.

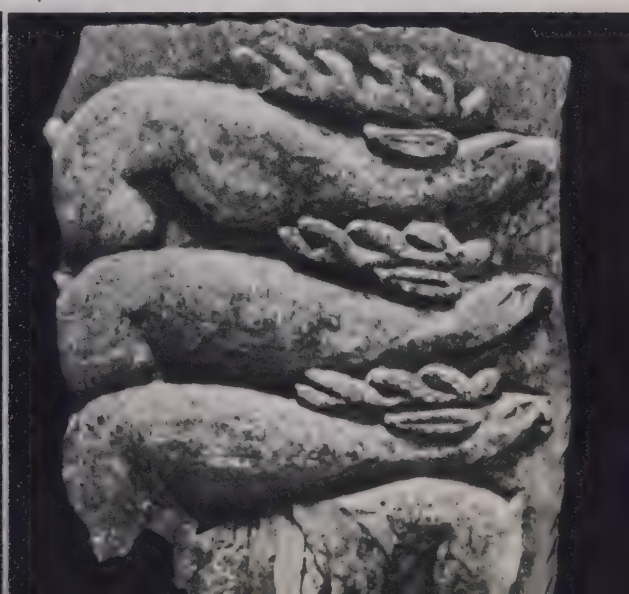
125 - SHAMI. (A) ARCHER (B) HORSEMEN (2nd-1st CENTURIES B.C.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

In a tomb at Shami, probably dating to the second or first century B.C., were found some fragments of shell carvings which may have adorned a box. Archers, horsemen dressed in the Parthian style and a queen (or goddess) formed part of a composition now impossible to reconstruct. The female figure is the most interesting; her jewels and the embroidery on her cloak strike an oddly Palmyran note in a Parthian ambience. In this hieratic figure magic intermingles with the divine; the natural with the supernatural.

As against these affiliations with the West, a small plaque of carved bone found at Dura Europos is clearly an imported work by an eastern, Scytho-Sarmatian artist. And a piece of cloth from Noin Ula, in Mongolia, on which figures a Parthian head, patently Iranian in design, goes to prove the close relations between the Parthians and the nomads of the Eurasian steppes.

126 - NOIN ULA. MAN'S HEAD (1st CENT. B.C.) — HERMITAGE, LENINGRAD

127 - DURA EUROPOS. THREE ELANDS — DAMASCUS MUSEUM



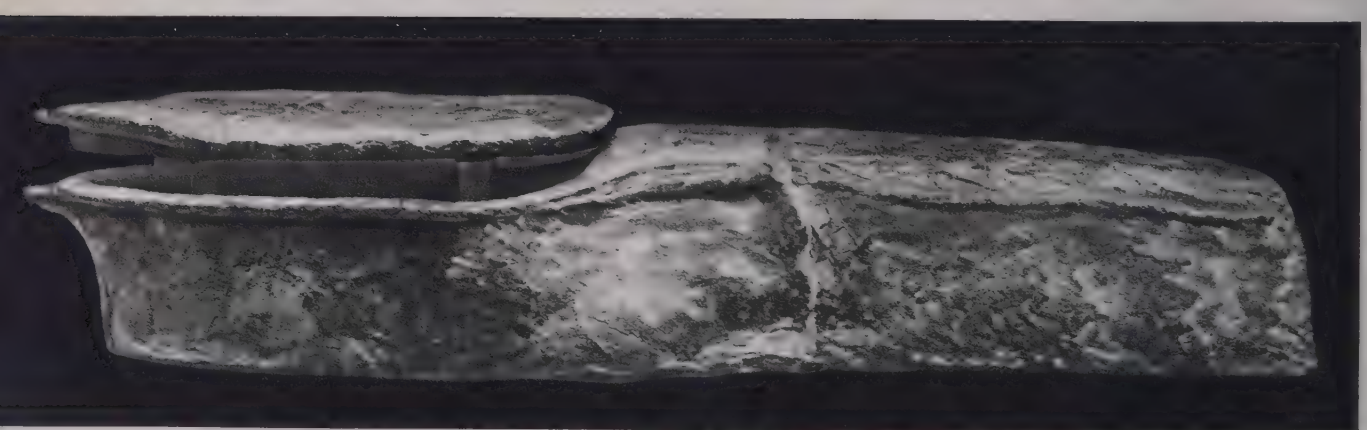
128 - PERSIS. SEAL IMPRESSIONS. (A) TEMPLE (B) COMBAT (3rd-2nd CENT. B.C.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION.

129 - PERSIS. DRACHMA OF AUTOPHRODATES. (A) THE KING (B) TEMPLE (3rd CENTURY B.C.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION.

130 - PARTHIAN ART. DRACHMA OF MITHRIDATES II. (A) THE KING (B) ARSAK DEIFIED (2nd-1st CENTURIES B.C.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION.

A considerable number of Parthian seals have been brought to light at Nysa. A clay bulla from Persis demonstrates the continuance of Greco-Persian glyptic art into the post-Alexandrine period. On one side is a fighting scene, a Greek theme often used in Achaemenian seals. On the other is an exact reproduction of the motifs on the reverse of coins struck by the rulers of Persis in the third and second centuries B.C., the only novelty being the representation of a tower like the one at Nurabad. The Parthian royal coinage never varied under the Arsacids, no matter who the ruler. An example is the drachma of Mithridates II; the obverse still bears the royal effigy (head and shoulders), while the reverse shows Arsak, the deified founder of the dynasty, seated on a throne and holding a bow, symbol of the monarch's power.

The technique of glazed ware, already practised by the Achaemenians (who had acquired it from the Elamites), was improved on and more widely employed in Parthian Iran.



131 - WARKA. SLIPPER-SHAPED SARCOPHAGUS. BRITISH MUSEUM

132 - (A) PARTHIAN ART. VASE WITH MODELLED DECORATION. (B) DEMAVEND. RHYTON WITH FOREPARTS OF IBEX (2nd-1st CENT.B.C.)

During this period the dead were buried in deep tombs, usually family hypogea, provided with a stairway flanked by recesses for sarcophagi. At Susa the covers were given anthropoid forms, whereas in Mesopotamia they were shaped like 'slippers' and adorned with the figure of a naked goddess in relief.

The Parthian ceramists also manufactured glazed rhytons with moulded ornaments, and others in ordinary earthenware. An example of the latter is the rhyton discovered at Demavend, near Teheran, along with Parthian coins of the second century B.C. It has analogies with the ivory rhytons found at Nysa.

133 - SUSA. (A) JAR WITH HANDLES (B) THREE-LEGGED KRATER (2nd-3rd CENTURIES A.D.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

Like the shapes of the sarcophagi, those of pottery varied from place to place. The amphorae of Babylonia and Syria have large handles and a wealth of ornamentation, modelled and incised; belonging to a relatively late period, they show signs of Syro-Roman influence. At Susa modelled decoration is the exception and is replaced by incised designs, while the handles are reduced to small rings placed on the shoulders of the vessel. Presumably this objection to large handles was due to a survival of Elamite traditions, since, for millennia, Elamite pottery had dispensed with handles. A special green glaze largely composed of cupric oxide made its appearance at Susa at the end of the Parthian period; it was used almost exclusively for bowls resting on three small shell-shaped feet. Both the special shape of these vessels and the colour of the glaze indicate the influence of Chinese ceramics of the late Han period, when there was an intensification of the contacts between Iran and China.

134 - PARTHIAN ART. JAR WITH HANDLES, WITH INCISED DESIGNS AND RELIEF-WORK (THIRD CENTURY B.C.) — PRIVATE COLL., NEW YORK

135 - MITHRIDATES I (171-138 B.C.) 136 - MITHRIDATES I (171-138 B.C.). 137 - MITHRIDATES II (123-88 B.C.)

138 - ARTABANUS II (88-77 B.C.) 139 - PHRAATES III (70-57 B.C.) 140 - MITHRIDATES III (C. 57 B.C.)

141 - PHRAATES IV (C. 38-C. 2 B.C.) 142 - PHRAATES V (3/2 B.C.-A.D. 4) 143 - REVERSE OF FOREGOING COIN

144 - ORODES II (A.D. 4-6) 145 - VONONES I (A.D. 8/9-12/13) 146 - REVERSE OF FOREGOING COIN

147 - VOLOGASES I (A.D. 51-77/78) 148 - ARTABANUS IV (A.D. 80-81) 149 - REVERSE OF FOREGOING COIN

150 - OSROES (A.D. 106/107-130?) 151 - VOLOGASES III (A.D. 147/148-191) 152 - REVERSE OF FOREGOING COIN

153 - VOLOGASES IV (A.D. 191-207/208) 154 - VOLOGASES V (A.D. 207/208-221/222) 155 - ARTAVASDES (A.D. 227-228)

135-155 - PARTHIAN COINS WITH ROYAL EFFIGIES (2nd CENTURY B.C. TO 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

CABINET DES MÉDAILLES, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS

DATING BY M. LERIDER, CHIEF CURATOR

PARTHIAN ART

Heirs to the greater part of the Achaemenian Empire, the Seleucids apply themselves to Hellenizing the conquered lands of western Asia. But this process is resisted by ancient ethnical traditions and in the period shortly before the Christian era a Greco-Iranian symbiosis is arrived at, whose effects we see in Commagene (statues and reliefs at Nimrud Dagh) and at Old Nysa, first capital of the Parthians in Turkmenistan (façade of the palace and ivory rhytons in the royal treasury).

The reconquest of Iran by the Parthian Arsacids initiates a return to traditional Iranian art. Hence a profound modification of art forms, for Greek aesthetic ceases to be understood (e.g. in architecture), and even the contributions of the Ancient Near East are limited to mere survivals. Linearism and realism of a special kind make their appearance in the plastic and sumptuary arts. The return to frontalism in sculpture (Stele of Artabanus V, Tang-i-Sarwak reliefs) and in painting (Conon fresco at Dura Europos) testifies to an aesthetic revolution whose success can only have been due to the impact of a non-Mediterranean art, coming from the East.

Rostovtzeff was first to understand that the art in question was none other than Parthian art. Known to us chiefly by monuments brought to light in the Syro-Mesopotamian steppe country (Palmyra, Dura, Assur, Hatra) and in the eastern provinces (Nysa, Kuh-i-Khwaja), it bridged the gap between the art of the Achaemenians and that of the Sassanians. Moreover it played an active part in the creation of an Oriental *koine* in keeping with its traditions.

KINGS - DATES	SITES
4th - 2nd centuries B.C.	
Seleucid Dynasty (312-64 B.C.)	ISTAKHR KENGAVAR KHURKHA
250 - Parthian Dynasty	NIHAWAND NURABAD PERSEPOLIS SHAMI
ARTABANUS I (214-195)	NYSA
150 - *The Parthians on the Euphrates*	NIPPUR DEILAMAN
2nd - 1st centuries B.C.	
MITHRIDATES II (123-88)	BISUTUN
MITHRIDATES III (c. 57)	NIMRUD DAGH
PHRAATES IV (c. 38-c. 2)	
PHRAATES V (2 B.C.-4 A.D.)	
1st century A.D.	
ORODES II (4-6)	KUH-I-KHWAJA
VONONES I (8/9-11/12)	
GOTARZES II (38-51)	BISUTUN
VOLOGASES I (51-77/78)	ASSUR
ARTABANUS IV (80-81)	DURA EUROPOS
2nd century A.D.	
OSROES (106/7-130)	NYSA
VOLOGASES III (147/8-191)	HATRA
3rd century A.D.	
VOLOGASES IV (191-207/8)	DEILAMAN PALMYRA
VOLOGASES V (208-221/2)	TANG-I-SARWAK DURA EUROPOS
224 - *End of the Parthian Dynasty*	SUSA
ARTAVASDES (227-228)	

PARTHIAN PERIOD (3rd century B.C. - 3rd century A.D.)

CHITECTURE	SCULPTURE	METAL	CLAY STUCCO - IVORY	PAINTING	GLYPTICS NUMISMATICS
Temple Temple Temple Temple Temple Temple Temple Philhellenic Monuments	Corinthian capital Stele of Antiochus I Bas-reliefs Hellenistic Statuettes Statue of a Parthian Noble	Bronze Statuettes	Ivory Rhytons		Seal Impressions and Coins of the Parthian Kings
nb of Antiochus Commagene	Bas-relief of Mithridates II Statues and Bas-reliefs				
ce and Temple Palace emple of the myrene Gods	Bas-relief of Gotarzes II		Mural Decoration (stucco) Façade Decoration (stucco)	Frescoes: *Deities and Human Figures* Conon Fresco	
Palace ce and Temples	Cult Reliefs, Statues, Masks		Clay Statues: *Deified Ancestors of the Parthian Kings*		
ithraeum and lls of houses	Cultic and Funerary Bas-reliefs Bas-reliefs: *Episodes in the Life of a Parthian Prince* Bas-relief of Artabanus V	Silverplate		Frescoes: *Mithras Hunting* Graffiti	

157 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR I, DETAIL: THE KING (3rd CENTURY A.D.) — IN SITU

II

SASSANIAN ART

ARCHITECTURE AND MONUMENTAL DECORATION
ROCK SCULPTURES

THE rise of the Sassanians can no longer be regarded today as the outcome of a reaction against the Philhellenism of the Parthian rulers. The Arsacid dynasty left a distinctive impress on Iranian civilization. True, it had started out with a Hellenistic heritage but, by assimilating this gradually, it succeeded in preserving intact its national characteristics. And the 'revival' that now took place was due to the fact that closer, more fruitful relations were maintained with the peoples of outer Iran. Ardashir Papakan, first Sassanian king, a petty prince of the Fars province, was no foreign conqueror; the dynasty he founded was of Persian blood, and it succeeded a dynasty which was equally Iranian but which had come from the steppe country beyond the frontiers.

In the period following the downfall of the Parthian empire, the structure of Iranian society was still imperilled by the conflict between the feudal nobility and the central authority of the King of Kings. While respecting the power of the great families, whose prerogatives went back to Achaemenian times, the Sassanians tried to counter it by encouraging the rise of a new class of 'grandees and nobles.' Next in the social scale came the 'free men,' the small landed nobility responsible to the administration for the collection of the taxes levied on the peasants, who formed the bulk of the population.

156 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. VICTORY OF HORMIZD II, UNDER TOMB OF XERXES I (4th CENTURY A.D.)

158 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. INVESTITURE OF NARSAH. DETAIL: ANAHITA

The internal administration of the country remained the same, based on the territorial division into provinces or satrapies governed by high dignitaries chosen from the members of the royal family and nobility or, later, from among the military commanders. Each province was divided into districts and subdivided into cantons; the 'headmen' of the villages were subject to the authority of petty nobles, who in turn were responsible to the provincial governors. In point of fact this system dated back to the Arsacid period. The great achievement of the Sassanians was the creation of a stable bureaucracy dependent on the central power, and ensuring direct relations with each province. Under the Parthians Iran had been split up into a multitude of small kingdoms. By successfully imposing a central authority, the Sassanian empire laid the foundations of its greatness.

The backbone of the Sassanian army, like that of the Parthian army before it, was the heavy armoured cavalry furnished by the great feudal lords. It was supported by lighter units of mounted archers drawn from the lesser nobility. Behind these 'shock troops' came elephants, which the Parthians had never used. Next came the infantry, a mass of poorly equipped peasants—raw troops of little tactical value. Much more effective were the auxiliary formations of various subject peoples from the borderlands of the empire (Seistanians, Albans, Kushans, Chionites, Ephthalites) who, since early Achaemenian times, had furnished Persia with a cavalry famous for its fighting qualities. The Armenian cavalry, too, was highly esteemed and occupied a key position in the Sassanian army.

Siegecraft, still rudimentary under the Parthians, became a highly developed technique in the hands of the Sassanians, who in this respect were the equals of the Romans. Warlike subject peoples were uprooted from their homelands and resettled in military colonies on the frontiers. The empire was thus surrounded by a girdle of outer defences manned by vassals, behind which stood the regular Iranian army.

Court life was regulated by a strict and elaborate etiquette. Courtiers were divided into three classes: (1) the king's sons and the knights of the royal retinue; (2) the royal household and the intimates of the king; (3) the court jesters and jugglers. Musicians played an important part in court life and were likewise divided into three classes, according to their skill and the instruments on which they performed. While the refinement of the Sassanian

court surpassed that of the Arsacids, the pomp and prestige of the Great King remained in the Oriental tradition. As in the past, the treasury of the King and that of the State were one and the same. The gifts of subject peoples provided huge reserves of wealth which, as in Achaemenian times, were the envy and the wonder of West and East alike.

The nobility, who owned the land, divided their time between warfare, hunting, banqueting and the pleasures of the harem. They played chess, tennis and polo, they cultivated singing and the sciences. Between this brilliant society and the lower classes lay an unbridgeable gulf. The number of townsfolk, tradesmen and craftsmen, remained relatively small. The peasantry for the most part lived in a state of serfdom and was thus prone to violent action when stirred up by a fanatical leader like Mazdak, who in the fifth century launched a movement of social reform which led to revolution and prolonged bloodshed.

The establishment of a state religion was, along with that of a centralized government, one of the distinctive features of the Sassanian state. The evidence provided by texts, inscriptions and archaeological data has discredited the tradition according to which Ardashir Papakan raised Zoroastrianism, which had been preserved in its original form in the province of Fars, to the status of a national religion. It was, rather, the ancient Mazdaean faith that seems to have been affected by Zoroaster's reforms; and into that faith Artaxerxes II introduced the cult of Anahita (specially associated with fire worship) in the form of an image.

The chief sanctuary of Anahita was at Istakhr. It was served by *herbads* or fire priests among whom the ancestors of the Sassanid dynasty had figured prominently. In the north-west the ancient Iranian religion centred on the great temple of Shiz, whose ministrants were the magi or *mobeds* who, while preserving the traditions of the priestly caste, had adopted the tenets of Zoroastrianism at some undetermined period. These were reduced to writing in the *Avesta*—in the fourth century according to some scholars, not until the sixth according to others. With the backing of the temporal power, Zoroastrianism supplanted Manichaeism and halted the advance of Christianity on the line of the Euphrates and that of Buddhism at the river Helmand. It united the spiritual forces of the nation in defence of the East, under the lead of Iran, against the onslaught of the West.

Rooted as it was in the ancient Irano-Oriental world, Sassanian Persia can be understood only in terms of its military, social, economic and religious life. Parthian Iran, by maintaining the Mazdaean religion and the principles of the indigenous art, while at the same time assimilating the Hellenic legacy, formed the connecting link between the Achaemenians and the Sassanians. Sassanian art did not come as a sudden 'renaissance'; its earliest manifestations show it to be a direct successor of Parthian art, which, as we have seen, was essentially Iranian in character.

159 - FIRUZABAD. PALACE OF QAL'A-E-DUKHTAR (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

SASSANIAN ART UNDER ARDASHIR, FOUNDER OF THE DYNASTY

THE province of Fars, where the ruins of Pasargadae and Persepolis were still conspicuous, seems to have been little affected by foreign influences. The number of petty kings sharing the province between them in the early third century A.D. makes it clear that the power of the Arsacids was on the wane. The largest of these minor kingdoms was that of Istakhr, capital of the ancient rulers of Persis. It was ruled by local princes who claimed descent from the family of the Achaemenids and prided themselves on upholding the traditions of that great dynasty.

These princes bore such famous names as Dara (Darius) and Ardashir (Artaxerxes). They had themselves portrayed on their coinage as Darius the Great had had himself portrayed on his tomb: worshipping before a temple or at an altar below a winged bust of Ahuramazda. The inscriptions on their coins were written in Aramaic characters, whereas the Parthians, their suzerains, used Greek. They styled themselves *fratadara* (guardians of the fire), which name they changed after the Parthian conquest to that of *Shah* (king).

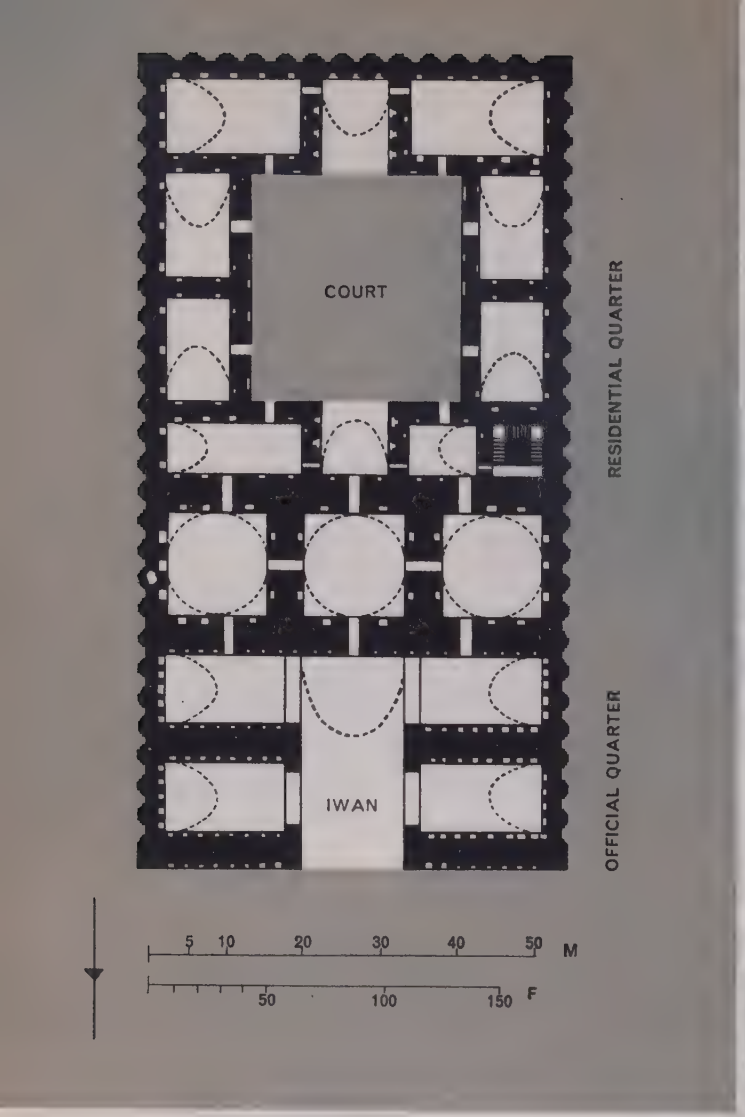
One of these petty kings was Papak, the father of Ardashir I, whose grandfather, Sassan, had held a high position in the temple of Anahita at Istakhr, a sanctuary of great renown. When his father died Ardashir refused to recog-

160 - FIRUZABAD. AERIAL VIEW OF THE CITY (FIRST HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.)

nize his elder brother Shapur as king. The accidental death of the latter removed the barrier to his ambitions and he proclaimed himself king of Persis. Before long he had united the province under his rule and extended his suzerainty to Isfahan and Kerman. Alarmed by his success, the Parthian king Artabanus V resolved to cut short the career of his upstart vassal. The two kings met in a great battle in Susiana (A.D. 224); the Arsacid army was routed and Artabanus slain by Ardashir. The way to Ctesiphon lay open and there, two years later, Ardashir was crowned king, thus enforcing his claim to be the legitimate successor of the Arsacids.

When making plans for his revolt well in advance, Ardashir had had a fortified palace built at Qal'a-e-Dukhtar, near Firuzabad, his small capital. This was a veritable eyrie, placed on a high rock in the middle of a gorge, in a landscape of wild beauty. The outer walls, built on the lines of a fortress, were buttressed with pilasters after the time-honoured fashion of Oriental architecture. Inside, a large room in the form of an *iwan* was decorated with niches topped with 'Egyptian grooving' in stucco.

In the plain, at the mouth of the gorge, Ardashir founded a city, Firuzabad, whose circular ground plan strictly conformed to the Parthian tradition of town-planning. In the centre of the city was a fire temple, built of smoothly dressed stone blocks, to which Ardashir gave a name in keeping with the programme he had set himself: 'May it make Iran splendid.'



161 - FIRUZABAD. PLAN OF THE PALACE (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

162 - FIRUZABAD. STUCCO DECORATION (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

He had his palace built outside the city, of rough-hewn stones bonded with mortar—a building technique of native origin which is still current in Iran today. Uneven wall surfaces were smoothed over with a coat of plaster. The arched niches inside are surmounted by an Egyptian grooving copied from those in the Achaemenian palaces at Persepolis. Evidently the architect was bent on abiding by the ancient traditions. But while this grooving was appropriate to the stone lintel of a rectangular niche, here, on an arched niche, it was an adventitious decorative element.

The façade of the palace, with its alternating projections and recesses, shows the same concern for avoiding uniform surfaces. Here, however, the pilaster takes the form of an engaged semi-column, as it did in Parthian architecture. Similarly the vaulting and the cupola keep to the building methods of the

163 - FIRUZABAD. VICTORY OF ARDASHIR I OVER ARTABANUS V, OVERALL VIEW (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

earlier period. As for the ground plan of the building, it combines two distinct and separate features of Achaemenian architecture: on the one hand, the *apadana*, from which derives the *iwan* open to the outside, and which, along with the square rooms running off from it, forms the official part of the palace; and, secondly, the living quarters, composed of rooms grouped round a central courtyard. This structural lay-out was a permanent feature of all Sassanian architecture.

The largest and probably earliest of the Sassanian rock sculptures is the bas-relief carved by order of Ardashir on the rock-face of the gorge leading to the city of Firuzabad. It commemorates the decisive victory won by the founder of the new dynasty over the last Parthian king. Three pairs of combatants face each other, like knights in a mediaeval tournament. With his long lance Ardashir unseats Artabanus V, whose horse turns a somersault. Behind Ardashir, Shapur, his son and successor, vanquishes the grand vizier of the Parthian king, while a Sassanian page clutches a Parthian page by the throat. Ardashir's dogged struggle, over a period of years, for the crown of Iran is tersely summed up in this relief. Yet there is no allusion here to any actual event; this art entirely relies on symbols. It makes no attempt at portraiture; details of headdresses, costumes, weapons and the horses' accoutrements are our only means of identifying the figures represented.

164 - FIRUZABAD. VICTORY OF ARDASHIR I, DETAIL: BUST OF THE KING (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

Ardashir's face is shown in profile, his body in front view. In his headdress we see the origin of the *korymbos* or sphere which is placed above all the royal crowns of the dynasty. Forming here a globular mass on the top of his head, his hair is shown on later reliefs bunched up inside a cloth that is differently decorated according to the period. The wavy locks falling on his shoulders, the ribbons of the diadem streaming out behind him, the pointed beard slipped through a ring and the bead necklace are all in the traditional style.

The horses move at a flying gallop, as in Achaemenian art—which of course is quite unrealistic. The position of the unseated rider too, as he falls, is equally unnatural. The furious onrush of galloping horses and the clash of arms in a decisive combat might have been expected—or so the artist must have hoped—to convey an impression of violent combat. But the effect completely miscarries. All is tame, stiff and lifeless. The victory of the Sassanian king is a foregone conclusion, as is the case on all his monuments, whether his quarry is an enemy or a wild beast.

This relief invites comparison with that of Gotarzes II on the Bisutun rock. Although the subject has been treated on a larger scale, the guiding principle remains the same. Technically, no improvement has been made on the earlier work. The flat relief of the Firuzabad monument is similar to that of the rock sculptures at Susa, which are only a few years earlier in date. Here we find the same rigid postures, turning the would-be grandiose into the merely inert. Figures suffer from the same plethora of details, serving only to emphasize the huge weight of the armour covering the bodies of men and horses. The two dimensions of the scene—surface and ground—show it to be the copy of a painting. Despite its effort to break with all things Parthian, the art of the Sassanian dynasty, anyhow in its opening phase, was evidently constrained to draw on earlier traditions.

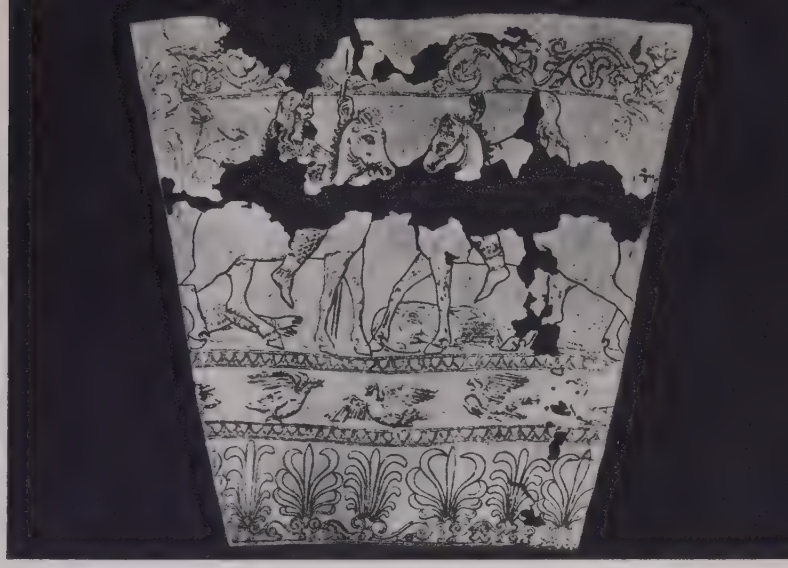
165 - FIRUZABAD. VICTORY OF ARDASHIR I, DETAIL: TWO PAGES FIGHTING

A few hundred yards up the river that runs through the gorge, another bas-relief represents the divine investiture of Ardashir.

On either side of a small altar (which never reappears on later bas-reliefs though it figures on all issues of Sassanian coins), the great god Ahuramazda and the new king stand face to face. The two figures are of the same stature; only the headdress distinguishes them. The god wears a crenellated crown, the king a skull-cap surmounted by the *korymbos*. With his right hand the monarch takes the diadem, symbol of power, which Ahuramazda holds out to him; the king's left hand is upraised, with the forefinger pointing forward in token of respect. Behind him stands a page with a fly-whisk; in accordance with the convention of the Ancient East, he is of much smaller stature than his master. The three men forming the king's retinue, most probably his sons, are differentiated from each other by details of their headdress.

The alignment of these figures and their strictly antithetical presentation hark back, by way of Parthian art (rock relief of Mithridates II at Bisutun), to the Achaemenian tradition and the Oriental heraldic style. Thus, inevitably, whenever we seek connecting links between Sassanian and Achaemenian art we find them in the art of the Parthians. From the latter derive these stereotyped silhouettes with characteristically static and lifeless volumes. Only in the high relief do we find an intimation of the new art to come.

167 - FIRUZABAD. INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR I (SECOND QUARTER, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)



169 - SOUTH RUSSIA. INVESTITURE SCENE ON HORSEBACK (4th-3rd CENT. B.C.)

At Naqsh-i-Rustam, the religious and funerary centre of the Achaemenians, Ardashir had another carving made of the scene of his investiture, with a view to placing himself under the august patronage of the dynasty from which he claimed descent. Naqsh-i-Rustam, once the sacred place of the Achaemenians, now became that of the Sassanians, who carefully preserved the temples of their predecessors. Here both god and king are on horseback. Anthropomorphism is now in the ascendant, but we cannot be sure whether it derived from the West, where Antiochus I of Commagene had imposed it on his artists, or from the East, where Iranian divinities were given human form on the coins of the Kushan kings of the second and third centuries. The royal investiture on horseback is a theme that must already have existed in Achaemenian art; this seems to be borne out by a Scythian work in South Russia.

Several features of the Naqsh-i-Rustam relief are innovations. In his left hand the god holds a *barsom*, while the king's crown, surmounted by the *korymbos*, here acquires its definitive form. The horses are sturdily built, though unnaturally small in proportion to their riders. They are trampling underfoot the two arch-enemies of the god and the king: Ahriman, the Evil Spirit, and Artabanus V, the last of the Parthian monarchs. The technique shows an advance towards high relief and fully plastic form, perhaps as a result of influences from the West. In his attempt to portray visual reality, however, the artist has not been very successful. He has failed to render garments convincingly and his figures seem sheathed in leather. An inscription in Greek, Pahlavi-Sassanian and Pahlavi-Parthian gives the names of the god and the king; this continues the Achaemenian tradition of trilingual inscriptions.

What conclusions are to be drawn from early Sassanian art? The new dynasty had a well-defined programme; having triumphed in a legitimate cause and expelled the Parthian interlopers, the Sassanians claimed to be the true successors of Cyrus, Darius and the other Achaemenid kings. Their art reflects this attitude. Thus we find them reverting to ashlar masonry (Temple of Firuzabad), to Egyptian grooving, the investiture theme and trilingual inscriptions—all typical features of Achaemenian art. But even though he repudiated the Parthian heritage, Ardashir was powerless to counteract its influence, which is plain to see in the flat relief of Firuzabad, the cupola and vaulting, certain architectural elements like the engaged column, and, in iconography, the spirited renderings of horsemen in combat.

68 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. EQUESTRIAN INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR I (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

In reverting to Achaemenian art the Sassanians perpetuated the ancient traditions of Western Asia prior to the coming of Alexander. Its affinities with Parthian art further emphasized this link with an earlier age and in fact early Sassanian art drew on the heritage of the whole Iranian past. One part of that heritage, the art of the eastern Roman provinces, contributed a style which in course of time was to modify the handling of forms. While remaining composite, Iranian art, as now recast and revitalized, proved itself once again to be a genuinely national art by seconding the political programme which aimed at restoring the past glory of the Achaemenian Empire.

This meant, first of all, recapturing the countries of Western Asia conquered by Cyrus and Darius and now in Roman hands. Whereas the foreign policy of the Parthians had been essentially defensive, concerned with maintaining the status quo, the Sassanians, beginning with Ardashir I, took the offensive against Rome. On the east they were no less active, recovered Bactria and even forced the king of the Kushans to acknowledge their sovereignty.

170 - SITES AND MONUMENTS OF SASSANIAN IRAN

171 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. VICTORY OF SHAPUR I OVER VALERIAN, DETAIL: SHAPUR (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

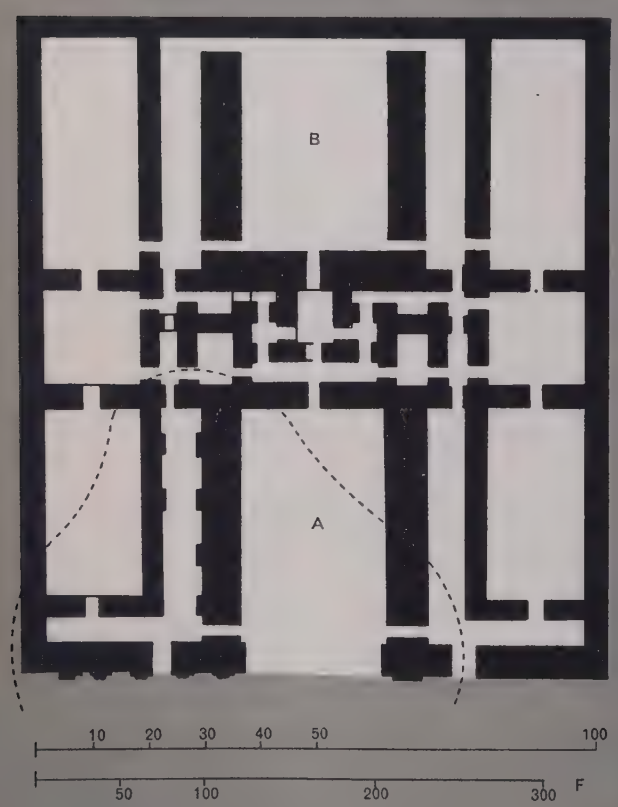
THE EVOLUTION OF SASSANIAN ART UNDER SHAPUR I AND HIS SUCCESSORS (SECOND HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY)

In a reign lasting nearly fifty years Ardashir I overcame one enemy after another and successfully established a new Iranian empire. During his lifetime he associated his son Shapur in his rule; tradition has it that he handed over the crown to him and retired from active life several years before his death.

Shapur I was accounted an enlightened, courageous, liberal-minded, magnanimous ruler. Possessed of an inquiring mind, he had translations made of foreign works of literature and philosophy. Attracted by the 'world religion' preached by Mani, he was well disposed towards the Manichaeans, invited their prophet to his court and even made him his friend and companion.

He prosecuted energetically the war against Rome begun by his father and twice captured Antioch, the old Seleucid capital, which had then become the capital of Rome's eastern provinces. In A.D. 260 he won a decisive victory over the Emperor Valerian, who with many thousands of legionaries fell into his hands. The Roman prisoners were taken to Iran and settled in Susiana where they built a new town, on the plan of a Roman military camp, called Gundeshapur ('The Arms of Shapur').

172 - CTESIPHON. FAÇADE OF THE PALACE (SECOND HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.)


B
A
10 20 30 40 50 100 M
50 100 200 300 F
A - LARGE IWAN - OFFICIAL QUARTER
B - RESIDENTIAL QUARTER
----WHAT NOW REMAINS OF THE FAÇADE AND IWAN

173 - CTESIPHON. PLAN OF THE PALACE (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

At Ctesiphon, the Parthian royal city chosen by Ardashir as the capital of the Sassanian Empire, Shapur I built a palace which, when the Arabs overran the country four hundred years later, dazzled the Bedouins coming from the desert; its ruins are still impressive today. The façade of the palace, which covers a considerable length, comprises four storeys diversified, at regular intervals, with blind recesses flanked by engaged columns. Still standing in the centre is the vault of a huge *iwan*, some 100 feet high and 140 feet long; behind it is a rectangular throne room.

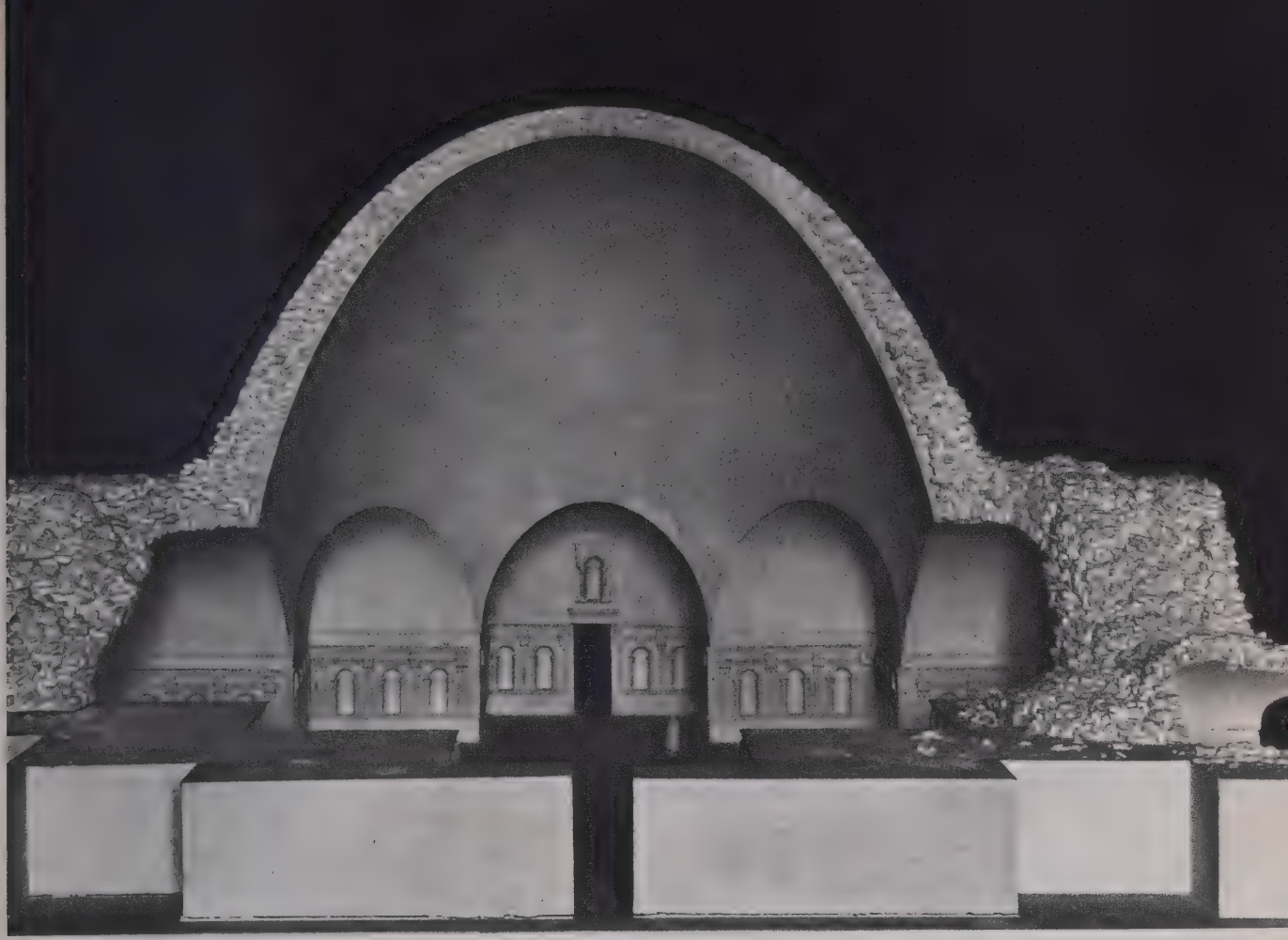
As H. Lacoste rightly points out in his study of the architecture of Ctesiphon, 'the liberties taken by the architect reveal a builder of vaults, an Oriental who did not trouble to enclose supporting arches with columns and entablatures, as was done in the Coliseum.... In the wings of

174 - SHUSHTAR (KHUZISTAN). BRIDGE OF THE KARUN RIVER DAM (SECOND HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.)

the building the artist deliberately did away with all the secondary axes of the bays.... The Romans never went so far.' It is interesting to observe in this architecture, and particularly in the lay-out of the façade, its over-all resemblance to the structural design of the Palace of Assur.

Captive Roman technicians were set to developing the fertile lands of Susiana (the modern province of Khuzistan), bordering on Babylonia. Cambyses and Darius had already shown their interest in Susiana by settling there Egyptians and Greeks from conquered territories. On the three great rivers that water the plain Shapur I had large dams built, which also did duty as bridges; vestiges of them still testify to the size and scope of the public works he carried out. The progress of urban development under the same king also owed much to the manpower furnished by prisoners of war.

175 - BISHAPUR. RUINS OF THE FORTRESS (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)



177 - BISHAPUR. MODEL OF THE GREAT HALL OF THE PALACE (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.) — LOUVRE

Shortly after, or perhaps even before, his victory over Valerian, Shapur had a residence built for himself in his native province of Fars (Persis). He chose a region whose scenery recalls that of the country around Firuzabad, the city founded by his father. To this Sassanian 'Versailles' he gave the name of Bishapur, 'the beautiful (city of) Shapur.' It was not laid out like the Parthian round cities, but kept to the Greek tradition established by Hippodamos, which had already been followed at Dura Europos in the late fourth century B.C. and at Begram-Kapici, north of Kabul, a city founded by a Greco-Bactrian king. It forms a quadrilateral bounded on two sides by a river, on the other two by ditches and walls. Bishapur lies at the foot of a mountain on which a fortress with an elaborate network of high defensive walls and small forts defended it from attack.

One sector of the city was reserved for the royal buildings. Here stood a palace built of rubble and mortar, with a great hall whose plan and technique conformed to the best traditions of Iranian architecture. A central room 72 feet square, flanked by four triple-vaulted *iwans*, supported a cupola over

176 - BISHAPUR. AERIAL VIEW OF THE CITY (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

178 - BISHAPUR. SCROLLWORK ON THE VAULTING OF THE GREAT HALL (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

80 feet high. This lay-out is the same as that of the courts surrounded by four *iwans* at Nysa and Assur. Sixty-four recesses are let into the walls of this room; their Greek key patterns, leaf-scrolls and dentils, like the acanthus leaves covering the vaulting, painted in vivid red, yellow and black, strike an occidental note.

The floor of a triple *iwan*, opening on a large court east of the great hall, was paved with slabs of stone and bordered with mosaic panels. Combining Iranian and Roman elements, these floor decorations may well be an imitation of a contemporary Persian rug. The object of the mosaics was to create an ambience—that of a sumptuous banqueting room—and this is borne out by the imagery. Court ladies indolently recline on cushions, while others clad in long flowing robes bring bouquets and garlands of flowers.

179 - BISHAPUR. NICHE WITH STUCCO DECORATION (3rd CENTURY A.D.) — LOUVRE, PARIS

180 - BISHAPUR. FLOOR MOSAIC IN THE IWAN, DETAIL: WOMAN WEAVING A GARLAND (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

There are portraits representing members of the royal family and the aristocracy. Women dancing, playing the harp or making garlands, their nude bodies lightly veiled, enliven the scene and make its meaning clearer.

The art of the mosaic was foreign to Persia. A creation of the Western world, it was practised throughout the Roman Empire. The subjects of the Bishapur pavement were taken from the thematic repertory of the mosaics of Antioch and North Africa. We may therefore assume that designs or cartoons illustrating fully worked out themes were brought to Persia by Roman mosaicists.

None of the standard themes, however, is exactly reproduced. All have been adapted by local artists to Iranian tastes and traditions.

181 - BISHAPUR. FLOOR MOSAIC IN THE IWAN. DETAIL: LADY WITH A BOUQUET (SECOND HALF 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

182 - BISHAPUR. FLOOR MOSAIC IN THE IWAN, DETAIL. HARVEST (SECOND HALF, 3RD CENTURY A.D.)

183 - BISHAPUR. FLOOR MOSAIC IN THE IWAN, DETAIL: PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

185 - BISHAPUR. FLOOR MOSAIC IN THE IWAN, DETAIL: HIGH-RANKING PERSONAGE (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

Faces, garments, even the manner of sitting, are typically Persian. Persian, too, is the portrait 'cut short at the chin,' where a Greek or Roman artist would have brought out the plastic values of a figure and the curves of a plump neck or chest. The representation of heads on these mosaics links up with an ancient tradition, that of the Iranian art of Sialk and Luristan, which the Parthians had revived, drawing on it freely and propagating it outside the limits of Iran. Yet in the result, the Syro-Roman mosaicists employed at Bishapur turned out a work that seems as much Roman as Persian. It could, however, be classed as predominantly Iranian, if it were possible to confirm the theory, suggested above, that this floor, with its central pavement and mosaic border, was a copy of a Persian rug of the period.

186 - BISHAPUR. FLOOR MOSAIC IN THE IWAN, DETAIL: WOMAN RECLINING ON A CUSHION (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

187 - BISHAPUR. HORSEMAN (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

188 - BISHAPUR. STANDING FIGURES (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

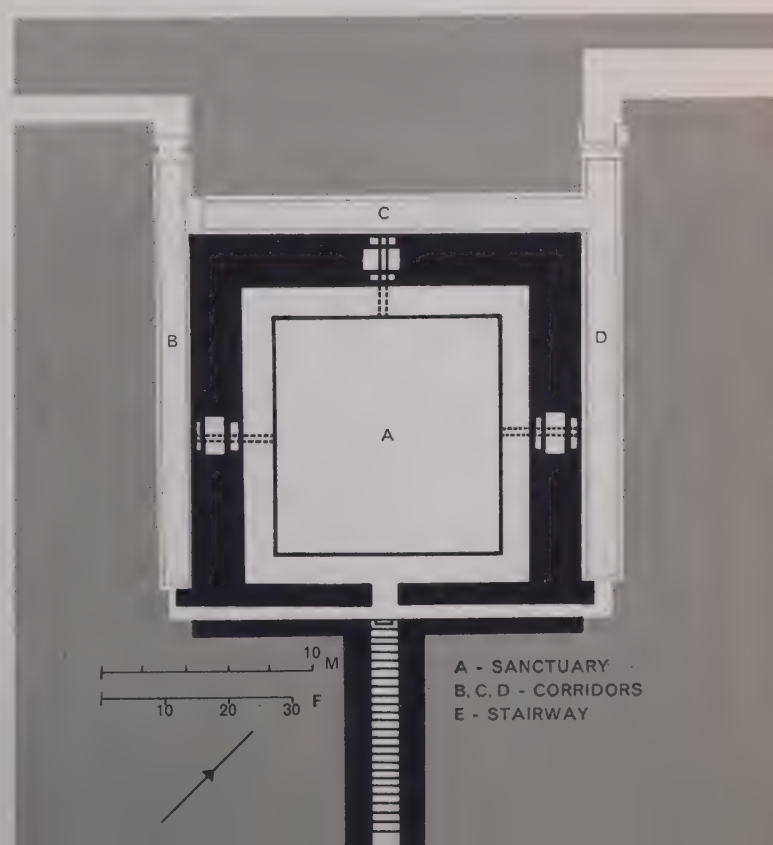
Not far from this triple *iwan*, and giving on the same courtyard, stood a second palace. Its excavation was cut short by the Second World War, but two niches had been cleared in which, though they were badly damaged, we could identify the traditional features of the architecture of Persepolis. Made of rectangular slabs of stone, carefully trimmed and dressed, the niches are faithful copies of those in the palace of Darius and Xerxes. A few scattered slabs were adorned with very low reliefs showing horsemen charging and standing figures. They must have figured on the façade of the building, which it is now difficult to reconstitute as a whole. The two scenes containing horsemen

189 - BISHAPUR. FIRE TEMPLE (SECOND HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.)

lead us to believe that these reliefs illustrated the campaigns of Shapur I against the Romans. In that case, it is possible that this palace was built as a residence for the defeated emperor Valerian, who vanishes completely from the scene after his capture by Shapur in 260. Technically speaking, whatever the artist's desire to 'by-pass' the art of the Arsacid period in favour of Achaemenian models, the galloping cavalrymen and strictly frontal pose of the standing figures are obvious reminiscences of Parthian art.

A temple adjoining the first palace was presumably dedicated to Anahita, goddess of water and fecundity, whose cult was closely associated with fire worship. Built on the square plan characteristic of Iranian temples, it consisted of a main room 46 feet square, pierced by four doors and surrounded by four corridors provided with an elaborate system of small water conduits. A long stairway led down into this room, whose walls, 46 feet high, were built of large blocks held together by iron joints and layers of rubble. This was a Roman technique. These walls in fact are identical with those of the buildings in the town of Shehba-Philippopolis, in Syria, founded by the Roman emperor Philip the Arab (who negotiated a peace with the Sassanians and ransomed the Roman prisoners taken by Shapur I in his initial successes against Gordian in 244). But the wooden beams of the temple roof were supported by bulls' foreparts clearly imitating those on the capitals in the palaces of Susa and Persepolis.

190 - BISHAPUR. BULL'S HEAD (3rd CENTURY A.D.) — IN SITU



191 - BISHAPUR. PLAN OF THE FIRE TEMPLE (SECOND HALF OF THE 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

192 - BISHAPUR. ELEMENTS OF A FIRE ALTAR: BASE, COLUMN, TABLE (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

A stone fire altar whose three component parts—base, column and table—were found embedded in a building of the Islamic period, erected near the temple, seems to have come from this sanctuary. If reconstituted, it would have exactly the same form as the fire altars represented on Sassanian coins. In addition to the sacred fire that burnt within the temple, another was lighted outside in a pavilion with four pillars supporting four arches surmounted by a cupola. There, in the open air, the worshippers congregated and the ceremonies took place around this pavilion open on all sides.

In 1957, in a narrow valley of Luristan, Tang-i-Chak-Chak, where the Zoroastrian religion seems to have survived the Arab conquest and the conversion of the country to Islam, Prof. Van den Bergh had the good fortune to discover examples of both of these Sassanian religious edifices: the temple, where the sacred fire was kept perpetually burning, and the open pavilion, standing a hundred yards or so away.

The town of Bishapur, with its carefully planned lay-out and well-defined districts where nobles and grandees lived in houses surrounded by gardens,

193 - TANG-I-CHAK-CHAK. FIRE MONUMENT: CHAHAR TAGH AND ATASHKADAH (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.)

was intersected by two main avenues that met at right angles in the centre of the town. There, in 266, the governor erected a commemorative monument in honour of his sovereign. On two of its three pedestals stood two monolithic columns, with Corinthian capitals in the Roman style, on which a lintel probably rested. From an inscription in Pahlavi-Parthian and Pahlavi-Sassanian, engraved on one of the columns, we learn that the monument included a statue of King Shapur I. This must have stood on the third pedestal (in front of the two columns); the two smaller pedestals, one on either side of it, were no doubt fire altars. Two-column monuments were a Roman creation known in Syria. Workmen's marks in Greek characters are still visible on the stones of the Bishapur monument; this suggests that the men who built it came from Syria. But though of Roman design the work has several distinctively Iranian features: the king's statue was flanked by fire altars and the dedicatory inscription was engraved on the shaft of the column, where Romans would never have placed it.

Shapur I commemorated his victories over Rome in narrative scenes well calculated to appeal to the imagination of his subjects. On the walls of the Ka'ba-i-Zardusht, the Achaemenian fire temple at Naqsh-i-Rustam, a long trilingual inscription in Pahlavi-Sassanian, Pahlavi-Parthian and Greek gives an account of the struggle between the two great powers of the ancient world. This text is illustrated at length on five bas-reliefs carved on the rock-face in Fars and in the gorge of Bishapur. The gradual enlargement of these rock sculptures reveals the successive changes in the procedure followed by the Iranian artists in treating a set theme. These works were published a century and a half ago, but Mr B.C. Macdermott, in a recent study based on a thorough understanding of the subject, was the first to give a correct interpretation of the scenes depicted.

194 - BISHAPUR. VOTIVE MONUMENT ERECTED FOR SHAPUR I (A.D. 266)

195 - SASSANIAN ART. VICTORY OF SHAPUR I OVER THE EMPEROR VALERIAN (4th CENTURY A.D.) — BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

One of the two reliefs on the left bank of the river of Bishapur commemorates the triple triumph of Shapur I over the Roman emperors Gordian III, Philip the Arab and Valerian. In the centre we see the Great King on horseback trampling the prostrate body of Gordian III. In front of him is Philip the Arab on bended knee suing for peace. The Emperor Valerian stands behind the conqueror, who holds him by the wrist. This gesture is significant, for it tallies with the historical account of the capture of the Roman emperor, further confirmed by a cameo in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. According to an old Iranian tradition, the emperor was captured in single combat between the two monarchs. Valerian is shown lifting his sword against Shapur, while the latter does not even go to the trouble of unsheathing his, but simply takes him prisoner by seizing his arm. This gesture (repeated four times on four different reliefs) had been used in Greek vase paintings in the Geometric style of the late eighth century B.C. to represent the taking of a prisoner.

196 - BISHAPUR. TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I, OVERALL VIEW (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.) →

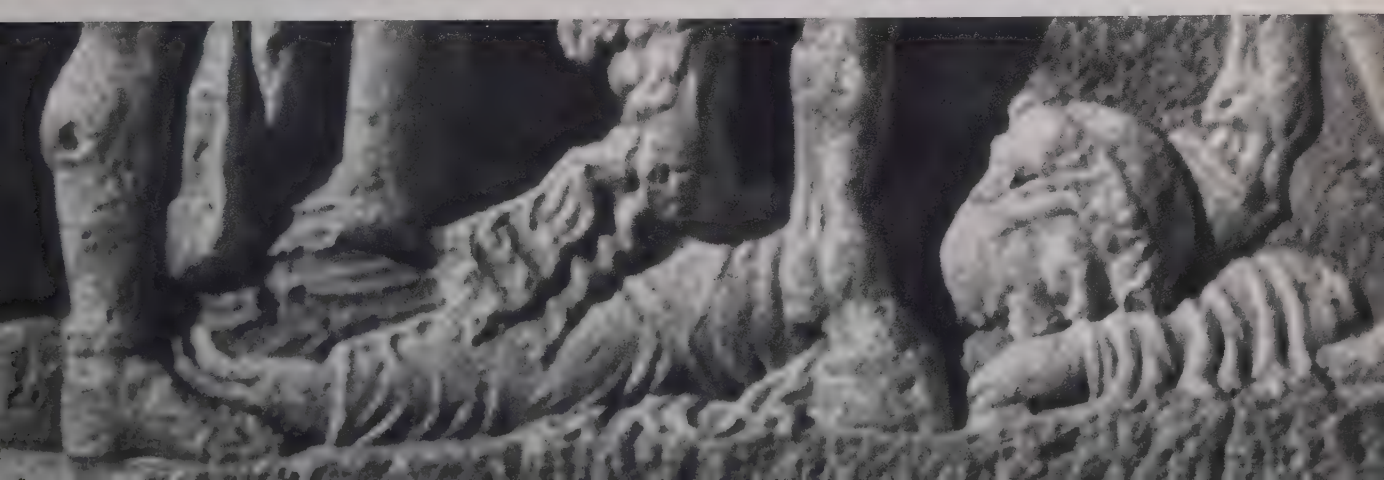
197 - BISHAPUR. TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I, DETAIL: THE CAPTURE OF VALERIAN (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

198 - BISHAPUR. TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I, DETAIL: PUTTO BRINGING THE DIADEM TO THE GREAT KING

Two Persian dignitaries in an attitude of deference complete the central group of figures. Flying through the air above them, a *putto* brings the king a diadem similar to the one presented by Ahuramazda in the investiture scenes. Is this a messenger of the great god? On the monuments of the later Roman emperors all we see is the god's arm emerging from the sky. The *putto* belongs to Hellenistic iconography. Here, moreover, under Western influence, the earlier hieraticism of figures gives place to more lifelike forms, pointing the way to a new style of Iranian sculpture. The rigid, tubular folds of garments, falling in heavy parallel lines, have now become a rippling, irregular mass draping a body that has come alive.

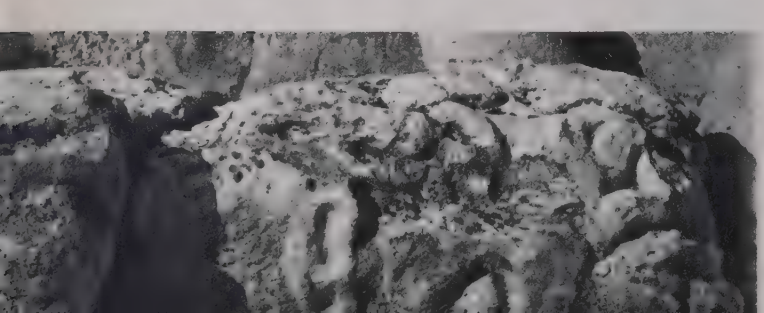
In effect, however, the sculptor is concerned not so much with illustrating actual scenes as with glorifying the triumph of the prince. There is no attempt at realism and he uses historical incidents as vehicles for the stylization of a theme undefined in space or time. The result is a static presentation of a crowd of isolated figures in a state of arrested movement. The sculptor keeps to the old convention of superimposed registers in which the figures, instead of intermingling, are assigned to separate compartments. This system of staggered planes marks a reversion to the purely linear perspective on which the monumental art of the Achaemenians was based.

199 - BISHAPUR. TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I, DETAIL: GORDIAN III PROSTRATE



200 - BISHAPUR. TRIPLE VICTORY OF SHAPUR I (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.) — IN SITU

On the opposite bank of the river is another relief, carved on a concave surface. It is thought to have been inspired by the reliefs on Trajan's Column in Rome which, located between the two great Roman libraries, illustrated the emperor's exploits in a continuous sequence, bringing to mind the unrolling of a *volumen*. The central composition of this relief exactly reproduces the triple victory of Shapur on the first. But the four registers flanking it seem to have been designed to stress the achievements of the king in the central scene. On the left we see four tiers of mounted noblemen. On the right are Roman prisoners (in the two lower registers) and Persians carrying booty (in the two upper registers). The first three figures on the highest register are holding a ring which seems to have analogies with the three torques of the three vanquished emperors. (It was customary in the Roman army to present a torque to the newly elected emperor.) Roman craftsmen may well have had a hand in making this work. Quite likely we have here a gesture of revenge for Trajan's invasion of Iran and capture of Ctesiphon in A.D. 115. But whether a copy of a Roman monument or not, this relief is an essentially Iranian work, since it conveys no sense of action and there is no attempt to give individual likenesses of the leading figures. As for the mass of secondary figures, while serving merely to fill out the composition, they nevertheless maintain the Roman tradition of aligning prisoners on the lowest register.



201 - BISHAPUR. INVESTITURE OF SHAPUR I, DETAIL: HEAD OF AHRIMAN (BEFORE A.D. 260)

202 - BISHAPUR. INVESTITURE OF SHAPUR I BY AHURAMAZDA AND TRIUMPH OF THE KING, OVERALL VIEW (BEFORE A.D. 260)

In the third of the Bishapur bas-reliefs, the one nearest the city, we find a composition unique of its kind. Although badly damaged, it recognizably combines two distinct themes in a single picture: a royal investiture and a triumph. The king and the god who presents the diadem are both on horseback. Their enemies lie prostrate on the ground and the body of Gordian III is pinned down by the legs of the king's mighty charger. The head of Ahriman, with his hair coiled snakewise, is truly fiendish. Between the two horsemen is Philip the Arab; in anguish and despair he pleads for peace and humbles himself before the 'master of the world.' The artist has conveyed the tragic aftermath of defeat with a force and an austere grandeur unparalleled on any of the other reliefs representing the same scene. It has been suggested that this relief was the work of a Western artist, and support is lent to this view by the fact that the panel is noticeably higher than usual. The absence of Valerian suggests that it was carved shortly after 244, when Rome made peace with the Persians. In that case the king's choice of this site for the future city of Bishapur may be dated to the beginning of his reign. The other two reliefs, on which Valerian figures, were added after 260, when he was captured and presumably imprisoned at Bishapur.

203 - BISHAPUR. INVESTITURE AND TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I, DETAIL: GORDIAN III PROSTRATE

204 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I, DETAIL: PHILIP THE ARAB (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

The fourth relief was carved below the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i-Rustam. It would seem that Shapur wished to make it clear that his feats of arms could match those of his illustrious 'ancestor.' The absence, no doubt purposive, of Gordian III is puzzling. The huge figures of the conqueror and his horse are out of all proportion to the size of the relief. Philip the Arab hastens towards the king, who has seized the two raised arms of Valerian, one of whose hands is hidden in his sleeve: a traditional token of respect and submission. But there is nothing in the scene to rouse emotion; all is inert, and even the garments of the leading figures, though stirred by the wind and floating in two opposite directions, fail to give any sense of life and movement.

In the last triumphal relief of Shapur I, carved at Darab, we find the same group of figures: the Sassanian king and the Roman emperors Valerian and

205 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I, OVERALL VIEW (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.) — IN SITU

Philip the Arab. Persian nobles rise in serried tiers on the left, while Roman prisoners form a similar pyramid on the right. This new arrangement of the figure groups indicates an attempt on the artist's part to break away from the conventional division into registers. Though the successive planes are set out vertically, the vanishing lines fail to converge on the horizon. The result is simply a bird's-eye view of the scene.

206 - DARAB. TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I, OVERALL VIEW (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

207 - BISHAPUR. FUNERARY CAVE ('MUDAN CAVE') OF SHAPUR I (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

A few miles from Bishapur, high in the mountains, at the mouth of a natural cave difficult of access, lies a statue of Shapur I carved in a pillar of stone which rose from the floor to the roof of the cave. The statue was originally over twenty feet high. The globe above the crenellated crown was carved in the virgin rock of the cave roof, and the feet, shod and beribboned, in the stone floor, where they are still visible.

The statue is at once an embodiment of the 'imperial idea,' and invested with a superhuman grandeur. It would indeed be difficult to imagine an effigy better answering to Shapur's high-sounding title of 'lord of Iran and of non-Iran.' It conveys intimations of a serene authority which demands unqualified obedience and of an absolute power that bends all mankind to its iron will. The sculptor boldly carved his statue in a natural stone pillar and articulated the limbs in the structure of the body; however, he overlooked the need for providing the huge figure with a stable base. Thus, when an earthquake shock threw a mass of several tons of stone against it, the ankles snapped like twigs, the crown broke away from the cavern roof, and the statue fell to the ground. The head would certainly have broken off, had not the artist taken, in its case, the precaution of extending the ribbons of the royal diadem, rendered in a schematized, geometric form, right down to the waist.

Thus the head was securely attached to the body and remained in place when the statue fell.

It is evident that here the sculptor made a point of emphasizing the most distinctive traits of his model. But though he succeeds in giving the illusion of a faithful likeness, he fails to breathe life into his work. The hieratic pose is cold and spiritless. The impassive face with its hard muscular jaws and large, staring eyes carries no intimation of an inner life. The garments are handled in the 'wet' drapery technique of Hellenistic art; here, however, it falls far short of classical purity, and the effect of the symmetrical patterning in small wisps of cloth is no less monotonous than the long parallel folds of Achaemenian and Parthian art. True, the attempt to render plastic values indicates a new interest in volumes for their own sake; but these are seen and projected yet again through the prism of Iranian art. Both the technique and expression of this statue bring to mind one of the recumbent tomb effigies of mediaeval French art, as it would look if set upright. And, in fact, this image of the dead king is meant to represent him rising from his tomb.

For in all probability this cave served as the great king's last resting place. This assumption is based on a passage in the autobiography of the prophet Mani, protégé of Shapur I, a Coptic translation of which was discovered in the sands of Egypt. Mani informs us that Shapur was in his well-beloved city of Bishapur at the time when he fell ill and died.

209 - BISHAPUR. COLOSSAL STATUE OF KING SHAPUR I

210 - BISHAPUR. FOUR SIDES OF AN OSSUARY ADORNED WITH DEITIES - TEHERAN MUSEUM

One of the peculiarities of the Zoroastrian religion—and the Sassanians were Zoroastrians—was that the dead were not buried but exposed on high places, where they were stripped of their flesh by animals and birds. We have discovered some of the troughs, dug on the hilltops round about Bishapur, in which the bodies were laid. Once the bones had been picked clean they were placed in ossuaries (*astodans*), receptacles of stone, stucco or wood, which were then deposited in caves, in niches cut in the mountainside or in underground chambers. An ossuary in carved stone was found in a field near Bishapur. Though the sculpture is badly worn, the four sides can be seen to represent four divinities: the god Mithras, who will, it is hoped, descend from heaven to earth to give 'immortality to the risen dead,' in a chariot drawn by two winged horses; the god Zurvan, or 'Infinite Time'; the fire god, son of Ahuramazda; and lastly the goddess Anahita, identified by the vase she holds and the fish at her side. Possibly these divinities formed a tetrad in the Mazdaean pantheon.

During the reign of Shapur I (241-272) Sassanian art was remarkably prolific and made great advances. The works planned and carried out under Shapur's patronage had a marked influence on those produced in the reigns of his successors, and indeed shaped the destinies of Iranian art throughout the Sassanian period. While keeping to his father's attitude to art and maintaining the time-honoured traditions, Shapur I seems also to have made an effort to introduce into the art of his time something of what he himself had seen in the West, or had learnt from visitors from the Roman provinces. The foreign models brought to Iran were freely chosen never slavishly imitated, and works deriving from them always bear the imprint of the Iranian temperament.

Under Bahram I, son of Shapur I, Sassanian art seems to have reached its highest point in the Bishapur bas-relief, which once again represents an investiture scene. The sweeping gesture of the god, as he holds forth the diadem, is matched by the dignified attitude of the king, his hand outstretched to grasp the symbol of his power. The spirituality of the king's features, the finely balanced composition, the modelling in the transition from the ground plane to the relief, and the proportions of the animals, both equally majestic, rank this monument among the masterpieces of Sassanian sculpture, despite the conventional treatment of garments and of the ribbons floating in opposite directions.

211 - BISHAPUR. INVESTITURE OF BAHRAM I (SECOND HALF OF THE 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

212 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. BAHRAM II WITH HIS FAMILY, DETAIL (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

Sassanian iconography centred on representations of the king, enthroned, hunting or fighting; these, along with scenes of investiture and triumphs, were its staple themes, treated in a variety of manners. The productions of the royal studios and workshops were widely diffused, thanks to the copies of them made by artists catering for the different classes of society. This iconography, whose purpose was to exalt the aspirations of the race and the glory of the sovereign, was given masterly expression in all techniques, in metal and stucco,

textiles and frescoes, pottery and jewellery. Finest of all, however, are the rock reliefs, unquestionably the most representative works of all Sassanian art, and linking up directly with the oldest traditions of the East.

Of all the kings of this dynasty, it was Bahram II (276-293) who, in commissioning works of art, showed the most preference for stone. At Naqsh-i-Rustam, on the site of an Elamite bas-relief (traces of which are still visible) and alongside the investiture relief of Ardashir I, the king is represented with

213 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. BAHRAM II WITH HIS FAMILY, OVERALL VIEW (SECOND HALF, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

the queen and the crown prince. He was the only Sassanian monarch to be thus portrayed in the company of his nearest and dearest. Their presence here (as on his coinage), though testifying to a strong family feeling, is in point of fact merely incidental. For on this time-hallowed site the art of Bahram II harks back to the traditions of the past. Likewise, the king's victorious combat with an enemy, represented on a second bas-relief, perpetuates a theme which is one of the leitmotivs of Iranian art.

214 - NAQSH-I-BAHRAM. BAHRAM II ENTHRONED, WITH FOUR DIGNITARIES (LAST QUARTER, 3rd CENTURY A.D.)

215 - SAR MESHED. BAHRAM II KILLING LIONS (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

At Naqsh-i-Bahram the king is shown in front view on his throne, attended by four dignitaries who—as on the Naqsh-i-Rustam relief—crook their forefingers in token of respect. He can be identified as Bahram II from the crown he is wearing, with an eagle's wing on either side, the symbol of the god of victory Verethragna; for each of the twenty-eight Sassanian kings wore a different type of crown, known to us from the effigies on their coins. As regards the strictly frontal attitude, we have to go back to Parthian art, where it originated, in order to understand something of its *raison d'être* and implications. The Sassanians did not keep to it exclusively; as a rule, they resorted to frontality only in the case of images invested with talismanic virtues.

Such is the relief of Bahram II: the rigid frontality of the figures transcends natural appearances and carries intimations of the numinous power of which it is an attribute.

A long inscription accompanies the large Sar Meshed relief, which shows Bahram II protecting his family from the onslaught of two lions. The overall effect of the scene is relatively novel and wonderfully evocative. As he goes into action and dispatches the attacking animals, the indomitable hunter forms the focal point and axis of the composition and on him converge both the dynamic lines of force and the static elements of the design. Movement finds expression in the life-and-death struggle with the lions—actually a single animal, first shown transfixed by the king's sword, then sinking mortally wounded to the ground. The terrified, motionless figures sheltering behind the king complete to perfection the general structure of the scene. The vanishing line indicated by their position at a distance from him suggests an attempt to express the third dimension. Yet, while the rendering of volume and space has notably improved, the force of tradition is as strong as ever. The presentation of the body in front view, with head and legs in profile, conforms to the ancient formulas of Oriental art; and the symmetrical folds of garments carry us back to the time of Shapur I. We look in vain for any feminine charm in the portrait of the queen; her neck is as bulky as the king's. Obviously the artist felt called on to abide by a certain canon of 'ideal beauty.' But the language of forms is nugatory if the sculptor's chisel does no more than render the model's superficial aspects. Nothing proves this better than the artist's failure here to bring out the plastic values of a breast or the subtle rhythmic flow of smoothly braided hair.

218 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. INVESTITURE OF KING NARSAH BY THE GODDESS ANAHITA (LATE 3rd OR EARLY 4th CENTURY A.D.)

An unfinished bas-relief of Bahram II, was recently discovered at Gouyum. The king seems to be taking part in an investiture—this time on foot. From the end of the third century on, the investiture scene on horseback disappears from reliefs. The new iconography is illustrated, again at Naqsh-i-Rustam, by the investiture of King Narsah, son of Shapur I and successor of Bahram III (who had been dethroned). Narsah had himself portrayed receiving the diadem from the hands of Anahita. His son stands beside him, an attendant follows behind. Bodies here are more compact, their proportions less well balanced, postures more rigid than ever, and the surfeit of details is even more pronounced than usual. The goddess, in keeping with the rules of ancient Oriental art, is taller than the king. Falling in long parallel folds, her robe fans out in a billowing mass around her feet, clearly intended to remind us of the movement of waves and her function of goddess of the waters. The garments of the figures in the Bishapur mosaics are handled in much the same way, though their stricter linearism has a less evocative effect.

219 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. ADVERSARY UNSEATED BY HORMIZD II, DETAIL OF PLATE 220 (EARLY 4th CENTURY A.D.)

The relief set up at Naqsh-i-Rustam by Hormizd II, son and successor of Narsah, shows Iranian art moving away from visual reality. Essentially schematic and keeping to a well-established formula, it represents the king's victory over an enemy. The sculptor's model seems to have been the monument of Ardashir I at Firuzabad, for Hormizd, whose horse is moving at the flying gallop, unseats his adversary in exactly the same way. Devoid of the subtle undulations created by sinuous folds, the garments are utterly unconvincing. The way the drapery is flung back behind the rider's leg seems quite unnatural. The elements of this scene of single combat lack cohesion and there is no mistaking the decline in quality of this would-be mimetic art.

220 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. HORMIZD II CHARGING AND UNSEATING HIS ADVERSARY (EARLY 4th CENTURY A.D.)

221 - EIWAN-I-KERKHA. AERIAL VIEW OF THE REMAINS OF THE TOWN (4th CENTURY A.D.)

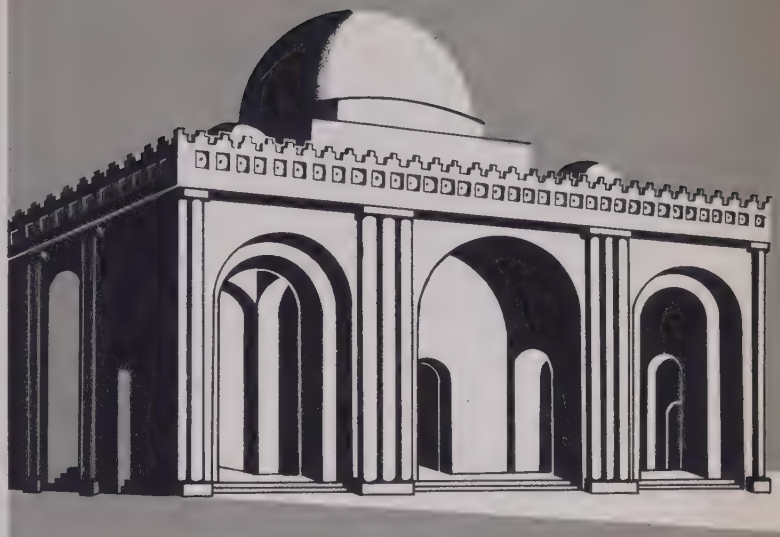
SASSANIAN ART UNDER SHAPUR II AND HIS SUCCESSORS (FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES)

After the third century the Sassanians constructed no more buildings of ashlar masonry. The latest in date (so far as we know) is the commemorative tower erected by King Narsah in the mountains of Kurdistan, in northwestern Iran. Henceforth the standard building material is rough-hewn stone and mortar on the Plateau, and brick in Mesopotamia and Susiana. The combination of vault and cupola offered vast possibilities to Sassanian architects, and they exploited these with the utmost skill.

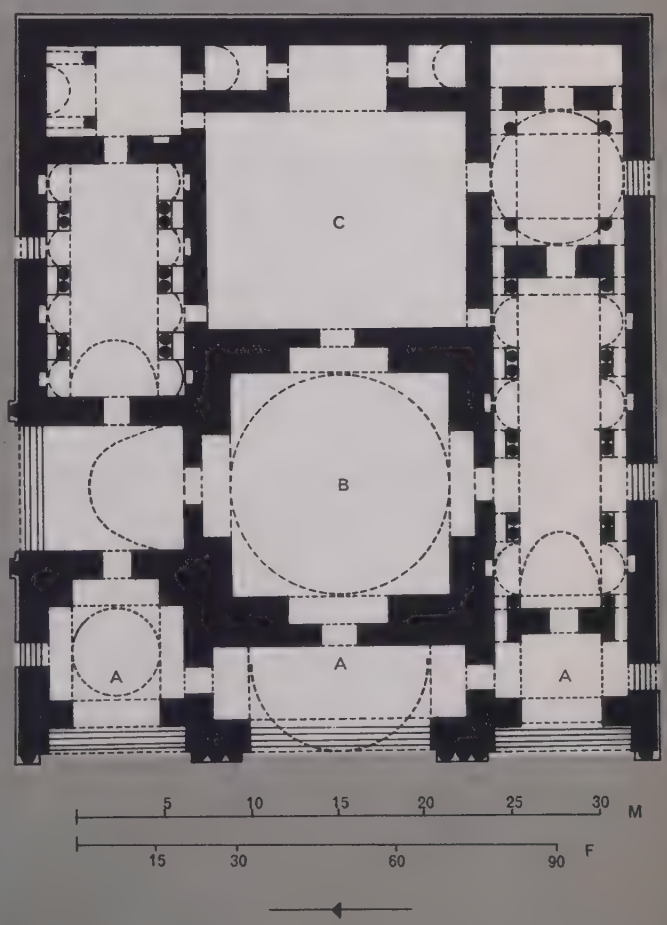
The destruction of Susa was followed by the building of a new royal city, founded by Shapur II some fifteen miles upstream from Susa, on the west bank of the Kerkha; its modern name is Eiwan-i-Kerkha. Laid out on Western lines, it forms a rectangle three miles long and a little over half a mile wide. The palace, built of bricks and mortar, contains a square hall roofed

with a cupola; from this extends a wing divided into five sections by a series of arches thrown from one wall to the other and parrying the thrust of the transversal barrel vaults. Our preliminary investigations in the royal quarter revealed the existence of a pavilion with three *iwans* whose walls were apparently decorated with true fresco paintings applied to a coat of a special type of mortar. We shall see that, while under Shapur II the fresco was not actually preferred to stucco, it was nevertheless widely employed.

The palace at Sarvistan, in Fars, built of stone and mortar and datable to the fifth century, has a façade with three *iwans* opening outwards. This became a standard design in the architecture of the period. Behind this façade lay the reception rooms, consisting of a square hall with long narrow rooms running off on either side. Then came the residential part of the building, with apartments grouped round a central courtyard. The ground plan is not unlike that of the palace of Firuzabad, except that it is more widely open towards the exterior. Its novelty lies in the springing of the vaults in the narrow rooms, supported by low, thick columns. Actually the architect's chief concern was to widen the room space by providing a broad central passage with side-aisles, the latter roofed with half-cupolas. This system of construction, in a more highly developed form, resulted in the nave flanked on either side by an aisle, with a row of six columns running down the centre, as in Palace II at Kish.



A - TRIPLE IWAN
B - RECEPTION HALL
C - COURTYARD IN THE RESIDENTIAL QUARTER



222 - SARVISTAN. FAÇADE AND PLAN OF THE PALACE (5th CENTURY A.D.)

While the beauty of a piece of architecture lies above all in the harmony of its proportions, much also depends on its ornamentation, though this is the part of the edifice likely to suffer most from the passage of time. Not only does it contribute greatly to the elegance and charm of the whole, but it also serves to conceal inferior masonry and lack of finish in the walls.

Under the Sassanians stucco played a large part in ornamental sculpture, and despite its brittleness whole façades were covered with it, at Bishapur and Ctesiphon for example. There can be no doubt, however, that wall painting was practised uninterruptedly in Western Asia throughout antiquity. We have undisputed evidence that it existed as far back as the fourth millennium B.C. By the second millennium its practitioners had thoroughly mastered the mural technique. Wall paintings figure in Assyrian residences, and we find them again, in Achaemenian times, in the *apadana* of Susa and the 'Treasury' of Persepolis. The large part it played in Parthian art has already been mentioned. And in this respect, as in so many others, the Sassanians followed in the footsteps of the Arsacids. Among the extant works of later Roman literature is the history of Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman officer of Greek origin who travelled widely and was an eye-witness of the great events in the reign of Shapur II. He gives a description of a royal palace, in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, whose apartments were decorated with wall paintings showing the king out hunting. 'For the paintings and sculptures of this people,' he adds, 'represent nothing but carnage and warfare' (*Rerum Gestarum*, XXIV. 6. 3). This observation is fully borne out by recent discoveries.

223 - DURA EUROPOS. HORSEMEN FIGHTING. FRESCO (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

224 - SUSA. HUNTING SCENE (3rd-4th CENTURIES A.D.)

At Dura Europos, for example, a fresco of the time of Shapur I(?) reverts to the theme of horsemen in single combat, which figures on so many bas-reliefs. Excavations at Susa have recently brought to light the first Sassanian fresco to be found in Iran, dating to the third or fourth century. When the city was destroyed, following the revolt of the Christian community, one of the walls of a room containing six column-bases was overturned by the elephants of Shapur II, the inner side falling face downward. On this wall of unbaked brick coated with a thick layer of mud plaster, water colours had been applied. Two hunters on horseback, almost twice life-size, stand out on a blue ground. One is wearing a long pink robe patterned with lozenges in gold thread; a sword seems to be hanging from his belt (only the hilt is visible). Judging by the position of the man's elbow, he is in the act of drawing a bow. The horses are maroon and brick-red. Between the two riders is a serried mass of animals of various kinds, some of them wounded or dead, others galloping away. A flower and a rayed circle (no doubt an emblem of the sun) reveal a new interest in scenes of nature and landscape; but lacking the means of expressing what is still so dimly felt, the painter resorts to a naïve linearism. In any case his technique is rudimentary; having no idea of modelling or suggesting space, he contents himself with outlining figures in black and inserting patches of flat colour with an eye to decorative effect.

At Eiwan-i-Kerkha the subject-matter of the paintings in the pavilion with three *iwans* is no longer distinguishable. But the extent of the painted surfaces tends to confirm our view that there was a vogue for large-scale wall painting under Shapur II.

225 - BISHAPUR. TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR II (FOURTH CENTURY A.D.)

To what extent did it influence sculpture? The most that can be said is that the technique of the only bas-relief assignable to the reign of Shapur II was eminently pictorial. This work is the latest in date of the reliefs discovered at Bishapur. Its composition in superimposed registers derives from that of the reliefs of Shapur I on the same site. Master of the world and earthly representative of the supreme god, the figure of the king stands out in the middle of the upper register with the compelling power of a talismanic image. Aligned in two tiers on the left are the nobles. A groom leads forward the king's horse. To the right, on the lower register, an executioner presents the king with the head of a vanquished foe whose headdress resembles that of the Kushan rulers on the eastern outskirts of the Sassanian Empire. The Persian troops behind,

226 - BISHAPUR. TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR II, DETAIL: THE KING ENTHRONED

also in two tiers, are bringing with them bound captives and war trophies, including an elephant. Here the subject is a triumph. And as Shapur II is known to have defeated the Kushans and annexed their kingdom, it is undoubtedly this victory that the relief commemorates. The presentation to the king of the severed heads of his enemies was an old custom in the East. After his defeat at Carrhae in 53 B.C., that of the Roman triumvir Crassus was presented to the Parthian king Orodes; Ardashir I exposed the heads of defeated princes on the walls of the temple of Anahita at Istakhr. Sassanian art took over this theme, which also figures, in South Russia, in the art of the Sarmatians, a people closely allied to the Persians.

The technique is based on linear design, and figures, sharply outlined, are quite devoid of modelling; nor are there any traces of the earlier 'wet' drapery in the garments. Although the sculptor tries to suggest the third dimension, perspective is non-existent. The device of placing second-row figures on small pedestals, so as to make them as high as those in front, betrays his incapacity for arranging figures on staggered planes in such a way as to suggest spatial recession. Everything here is subordinated to a purely pictorial effect.

The decorative setting is strictly conditioned by the forms it contains—as when it is shaped to fit the curve of a vase—and thus contributes to the unity of the ensemble. But it can be constructive and functional on occasion and serve to emphasize a given element or link two forms together. The decoration of a wall, whether covering it completely or only partially, often far exceeds the subordinate part it was meant to play in the building as a whole and becomes an independent entity. Thus its component elements come to be developed for their own sake and overrun the wall surfaces like a parasitic growth. Such, in brief, is the story of the evolution of stucco-work in Sassanian art. Its architectonic value was meagre and at best of brief duration, as in the 'Egyptian grooving' at Firuzabad and in the fretwork and leaf-scrolls around the wall recesses at Bishapur. Later it spread to the archivolt and then to the wall panels where it lived, so to speak, a life of its own, bound to the wall, yet independent of it. The facility of the stucco technique accounts for the rapid growth of this form of art. The subject used for a given panel could be reproduced indefinitely by means of moulds, and stucco-workers took to creating 'continuous motifs' that could proliferate, unimpeded, in all directions.

The dating of these stucco panels, even of those yielded by scientifically conducted excavations, is necessarily problematic. For, owing to its brittleness, the stucco decoration often failed to last as long as the building it embellished, and was replaced by later work. Such is the case with the stuccoes brought to light in the palace of Shapur I at Bishapur, which date from the early Islamic period (seventh-eighth centuries). A purely stylistic study, moreover, cannot always be relied on to provide an accurate chronology. Stucco was so easy to manipulate that it lent itself to sudden changes of idea and new departures.

227 - NIZAMABAD. HORSE'S HEAD — BERLIN MUSEUM

The fragment of a horse from Nizamabad and a similar piece from Ctesiphon (each presumably formed part of an investiture scene) can be assigned to a period not far removed from that of the finest rock carvings. Noteworthy are the high relief, the expressive vigour and spacious design of both these fragments. The royal busts on the walls of a palace at Kish are taken to be likenesses of Shapur II by some, of Bahram Gur (420-438) by others. They reproduce the mural ornamentation in carved stone on the monument of King Narsah at Paikuli, which in turn derives from the Hatra decorations. Also from Kish is the plaque representing a woman's head and shoulders, in a setting of floral motifs, and recalling a theme common to the arts of all Western Asia: that of the 'woman at the window.'

228 - (A) KISH. BAHRAM GUR? (5th CENTURY A.D.) — BAGHDAD. (B) KAVAD I? (6th CENTURY A.D.) — CHICAGO

229 - CHAHAR TARKHAN. HUNTING SCENE WITH KING PEROZ (5th CENTURY A.D.) — PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM

Very different is the composition of the hunting scene with King Peroz (459-484) from Chahar Tarkhan, near Teheran. Here we have an illustration of the stucco technique in which plaques concerned with different subjects were moulded separately and then assembled: the king attacked by two boars; the king successfully dispatching the two animals; the herd of wild boars flying for their lives. Men and animals are bunched together in parallel rows one above the other and strictly adjusted to the shape of the panel. Here we have a dense and compact art whose immobility sharply differentiates it from similar works by fresco painters, but whose basic conception is none the less pictorial.

PLATE 1 - KISH, 'WOMAN AT THE WINDOW' (METAL) - PRE-SARGONIC PERIOD - OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

231 - PLAIN OF VARAMIN. WALL DECORATION — BERLIN MUSEUM

Visible traces of a hand-drill suggest the sixth century as a likely date for the head of a king with roughly shaped features, quite possibly a portrait of Kavad I (488-531). In Sassanian stucco decoration the wealth of geometric and floral designs exceeds that employed in any other contemporary form of art. Eighteen different motifs have been counted at Ctesiphon in a single *iwan*, and as many as forty in a palace at Kish. Strips of bead and chevron designs formed borders within which pomegranates, symbols of fertility, were shown issuing from a pair of outspread wings, meant perhaps to symbolize the king's omnipotence. Friezes of lotus buds, linked by arch-shaped series of rosettes and demi-palmettes, compose the borders of a horizontal subject, while leaf-scrolls and acorns form an interlocking pattern in which neither a beginning nor an end can be descried. The square inset with a beaded circle is a regular feature in the art of this period. One such circle contains a pair of outspread wings surmounted by a brief inscription in Pahlavi which we are tempted to decipher as 'Iran.'

232. - CTESIPHON. STUCCO DECORATION. TWO TILES — BERLIN MUSEUM

233 - TAQ-I-BUSTAN. INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR II (FOURTH CENTURY A.D.)

The facts set forth above in our survey of the decorative arts of the period (frescoes and stucco-work) may help to an understanding of the problems of a technical order that are set by the Taq-i-Bustan rock reliefs.

From the end of the fourth century on, the province of Fars seems to lose the political pre-eminence hitherto assigned to it by the Sassanians. While the early kings up to Narsah had had their reliefs carved on the rocks around Persepolis, Ardashir II and his successors, when they sought to immortalize the events of their reigns, chose the rock at Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah, on the old Silk Route, which Ernst Herzfeld named the 'gateway of Asia.' This rock forms a sheer cliff immediately behind a pool and above a modern building. Carved in the rock-face to the left of this building and quite near it, the bas-relief represents the investiture of Ardashir II (379-383). The king is shown standing between two gods: Ahuramazda, who hands him the diadem, and Mithras, recognizable by his rayed headdress, who holds a *barsom*. Beneath the feet of the great god and the king lies a slain enemy, apparently a Roman,

234 - TAQ-I-BUSTAN. INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR II, DETAIL: VANQUISHED ENEMY

though history records no such feat of arms by this obscure sovereign. As for Mithras, he is standing on a large lotus flower.

The technique of the artist responsible for this work is quite unusual. When attempting to render volume, he misapplies the formal resources of high relief. Almost entirely detached from the ground, his figures are independent blocks unrelated to the surface upon which they stand out. Bodies are rendered frontally, feet in profile. For the first time heads are shown in three-quarter view. The treatment of both figures and garments is purely conventional and the breath of life is wholly absent. At the same time the strictest linearism prevails in the prostrate figure on the ground, the lotus flower and Mithras's radiant aureole. Here the association of fully plastic volumes with an essentially pictorial technique marks a drastic break with the rock carvings of the past. Can it be that the technique of stucco decoration, after being influenced by the rock reliefs, now exerted an influence on these, reciprocally? Or is it an inspiration stemming from painting that accounts for the incisive linearism of these carvings?

The two techniques can be seen at their most expressive in the near-by reliefs in the large cave of Taq-i-Bustan, attributed to Peroz (457-483) by Erdmann, to Chosroes II (590-628) by Herzfeld. This work brings to an end the long sequence of Sassanian rock carvings. We probably have here the central elements of a triple *iwan*, apparently never completed, for on the right it comprises only the small *iwan* built by Shapur III (383-388), which is decorated with a relief showing this prince beside his father Shapur II.

The back wall of the main cave is divided into two registers. The tympanum above represents the investiture of the king who is receiving two diadems, one from Ahuramazda, the other from the water goddess Anahita. On the lower register is the equestrian statue of the king, wearing a coat of mail. All these figures are independent statues and the meticulous rendering of details is carried to an extreme, notably in the treatment of embroidered costumes spangled with precious stones, of weapons and attributes. Yet attitudes and gestures here are even more unnatural than in the relief of Ardashir II.

The Sassanians were acquainted with the practice of placing a relief or statue in a niche or a cave. While there is no means of knowing what figured in the sixty-four wall recesses in the hall of the palace of Bishapur, the statue of Shapur I in the cave near the city gives a probable idea of their contents. But why, after the time of Shapur III, was the rectangular relief abandoned and so marked a preference shown for the cave acting as a niche? Yet at Taq-i-Bustan artificial niches were reverted to in two instances and it is evident that the king intended to place a statue in each of them. We can only suppose that the expansion of the Sassanians towards the east had something to do with this preference for caves. Following up the conquests of Shapur I, Shapur II annexed part of the Kushan kingdom, which was henceforth governed by members of the Persian royal family. While Sassanian art naturally extended its influence to these conquered territories, it could scarcely have remained unaffected by the styles it encountered there. To this eastern cross-current may well be due the large lotus flower on which, like an image of the Buddha, the god Mithras stands in the bas-relief of Ardashir II. The main hall of the palace at Nysa is known to have been adorned with niches containing statues of kings. A similar decoration came to light in the palace of Toprak-kala in Chorasmia.

The reliefs on the two side walls of the Taq-i-Bustan cave illustrate royal hunts. On the left the action takes place in a 'paradise' (or hunting preserve) surrounded by hedges. The king is being rowed across a swamp, escorted by boatfuls of female musicians singing or beating time. Standing erect, armed with bow and arrow, the king is shooting wild boar; the slain animals are being loaded on elephants. On the right wall is a stag hunt. Here the similarity to the Susa fresco is striking, despite the poor condition in which the latter was found. The continuous narrative style, whose possibilities for richly diversified

– 235 – TAQ-I-BUSTAN. INVESTITURE AND EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF KING PEROZ (5th CENTURY A.D.)

236 - TAQ-I-BUSTAN. ROYAL BOAR HUNT (FIFTH CENTURY A.D.) — IN SITU

238 - TAQ-I-BUSTAN. ROYAL BOAR HUNT, DETAIL: MOUNTED ELEPHANTS (FIFTH CENTURY A.D.)

and life-like imagery the stone-carver has exploited to the utmost, is closely connected with the style of the fresco. He shows us the following scenes in succession: the king on horseback about to set out for the hunt, with a sunshade over his head, while female musicians play on a raised platform; below, the king has spurred his horse to a flying gallop in pursuit of game; lastly, on the bottom register, he passes by at a trot, quiver in hand—the hunt is over.

With an obvious relish for picturesque, anecdotal details, the artist has replaced the compact masses of sculpture by a fluid, almost painterly treatment of surfaces. Another new feature of his technique is his use of 'bird's-eye perspective.' As in Chinese painting, these hunting scenes depicting successive episodes of a single incident are viewed from above, so that hedges of shrubs along the borders seem to lie flat on the ground. It should be added that these artists were expert animal sculptors. Their realistic renderings of elephants, in particular, rank among the finest achievements of Oriental art.

- 237 - TAQ-I-BUSTAN. ROYAL STAG HUNT
(5th CENTURY A.D.) — IN SITU

239 - (A) DAMGHAN. WILD BOAR (5th-6th CENTURIES A.D.) — TEHERAN. (B) CTESIPHON. BEAR (6th CENTURY A.D.) — BERLIN

Notable works of architecture in the last phase of the Sassanian dynasty (sixth-seventh centuries) are the vast palace and the temple at Kasr-i-Shirin, attributed to Chosroes II (590-628); probably the edifice at Damghan also belongs to this period. From the latter site comes a stucco panel with a boar's head set in a round frame of hollowed beads. Similar panels have been found at Ctesiphon. From a variety of subjects we have chosen a peacock encircled by 'running dog' motifs. The significance of this 'bestiary' is not clear; each animal may stand for a divinity or it may be connected with the heraldic symbolism in favour with the upper classes of Sassanian society. This interpretation can be supported by Firdausi's description in the *Shah-nama*—a work steeped in reminiscences of Sassanian life—of the various animals that figured on the banners of Iranian noblemen. The king's standard bore the sun, the moon and a lion grasping a club and a sword in its claws; on others figured a wolf, a tiger, a gazelle or a wild boar.

Some of the stucco panels from Ctesiphon, however, are of a quite different nature, and the animals represented on them are not treated in the heraldic style but with an engaging naturalism, sometimes even with a touch of humour. An example is this bear, whom we see scrambling up between a hillock and a tree. Here, too, we have an authentic landscape setting, rarely found in Sassanian art. The presence of Syrian artists may possibly account for this innovation. For after capturing Antioch, Chosroes I (531-578) founded a city near Ctesiphon called 'the new Antioch of Khosro,' whose ground-plan was an almost exact duplicate of that of the conquered city. Here the king settled a group of artists and craftsmen transplanted to Iran. Thus once again imported labour left its mark on the art of the country.

The history of Sassanian art in its final period would be incomplete without a survey of the particularly rich field of the sumptuary arts: goldsmiths' work, jewellery, textiles, coins and engraved gems. Under Chosroes I and II the

Iranian Court achieved a wealth and splendour surpassing even those of the glorious days of the great Shapurs. And the works of art produced for these refined and luxury-loving monarchs, to which we now shall turn, cast a revealing light on Sassanian culture as a whole, 'culmination of the millennial history of the Iranian nation.'

240 - CTESIPHON. STUCCO PANEL WITH PEACOCK (6th CENTURY A.D.) — BERLIN MUSEUM

242 - BOAT-SHAPED BOWL. KING ENTHRONED, WITH DANCING GIRLS (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) — BALTIMORE

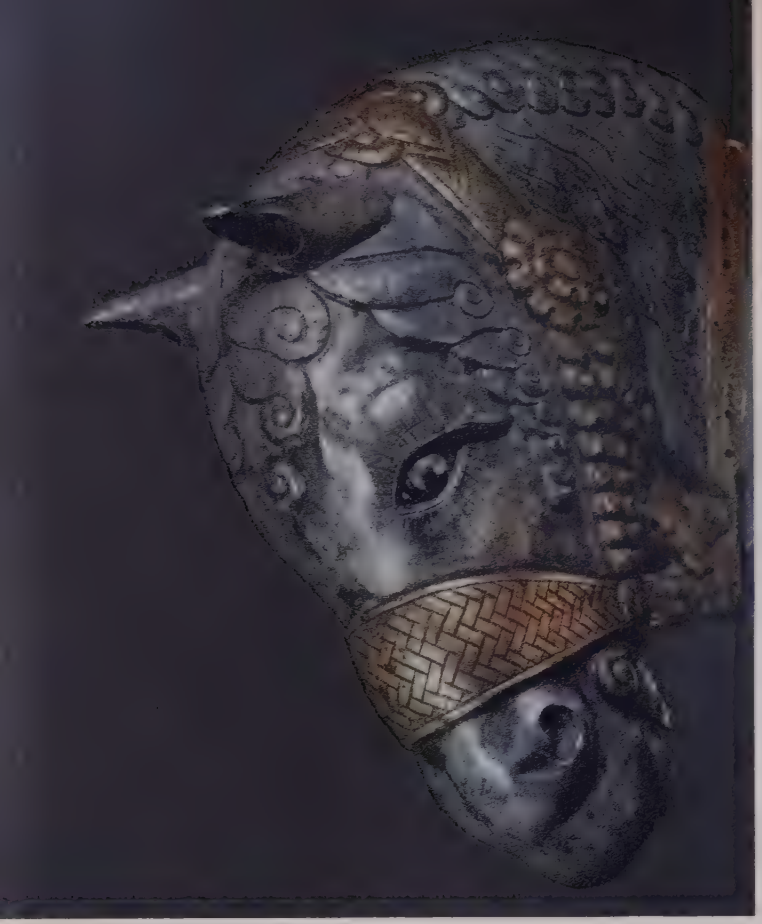
III

SASSANIAN SUMPTUARY ARTS

It was the Court that set the tone, and shaped the taste in art and the amenities of life, in the sophisticated, luxury-loving milieu of the Sassanians. The gold or silver table services of the upper class testified to their owners' prestige and power, and, needless to say, the finest pieces were bespoken for the royal palace. Only a limited number of drinking bowls and dishes—some hundred in all—are extant, the majority being chance finds made in eastern Russia and the Ural mountains. Most of them are in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, though a few have found their way to collections in Europe and America. Quite recently the Teheran Museum has acquired some very handsome pieces discovered in Iran.

Though the national economy of Iran was based on agriculture rather than on trade, there was a thriving commerce in luxury articles for the use of the court and aristocracy. Thus furs and precious stones were imported from certain regions of Russia, while, reciprocally, specimens of Sassanian silver plate have been found on sites in the same parts of Russia. These commercial exchanges flourished chiefly in the reigns of Chosroes I and II (sixth and seventh centuries), and this may explain the presence of late copies of works made in previous centuries, among the pieces of Russian provenance. Like their predecessors, the Sassanians never lost contact with the inhabitants of the vast Eurasian steppes, whence wave after wave of nomads swept down on the northern and north-eastern frontiers of the Empire. And we must also take into account the gifts sent by the monarch to foreign princes.

241 - EWER DECORATED WITH STAGS IN MEDALLIONS (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION



243 - KERMAN REGION. HORSE'S HEAD (4th CENTURY A.D.) — LOUVRE

The forms given this silverware reflected the magnificence of life at the Sassanian Court. There are plates, bowls, round or boat-shaped drinking vessels with plain or festooned rims, jugs and ewers. The technique employed (notably in the third and fourth centuries, when this art was at its acme) was one of piecemeal assemblage: that is to say, the elements of the decorative motifs were made separately, then soldered to the object after gilding. Unknown to Greece and Rome, this technique was exclusively Iranian. The earliest extant example is the Ziwiyeh plate. Some pieces were executed in repoussé, then worked over with a burin; in such cases the interior was lined with a thin sheet of silver, to cover up the hollows. Others were cast in moulds, and in some of the later works the decorations were merely engraved.

The leading motif is an effigy of the king. Like the bas-reliefs, the Sassanian drinking bowl conveyed a specific message, and, being made in one of the Palace workshops, glorified the reigning monarch. The king is always shown wearing his crown—even in circumstances where it seems quite out of place; for instance when he is hunting on horseback and when he is enjoying life in the company of the fair sex.

The table service of the Sassanid kings, usually in silver (gold is relatively rare) set the tone of that employed by other classes of the community. It was copied in bronze, in glass and sometimes in glazed earthenware. The taste for ornate drinking vessels, decorated in a highly distinctive style, lasted long after the fall of the Sassanian empire, and Muslim artists drew inspiration from it for many generations.

Poets of the eighth and ninth centuries composed hymns in praise of wine and the elegantly shaped cup containing it.

'We have built over Chosroes a heaven of wine fringed with stars,
'And if his soul were given back to Chosroes, offspring of Sassan,
'It is surely I and none other whom he would make his boon companion.'

(Abu Nuwas)

244 - CUP OF CHOSROES I, SO-CALLED 'CUP OF SOLOMON' (6th CENTURY A.D.) — BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

The handsomest bowl of all is the one in gold, depicting Chosroes I. An old tradition has it that this was the 'Cup of Solomon' given to Charlemagne by Harun al-Rashid. The effigy of the king is carved on a rock-crystal medallion enclosed in a frame of inset glass beads, and there is another row of beads along the rim. Represented full-face, enthroned, the king is wearing an elaborate headdress, with the ribbons of the diadem fluttering up on each side. Both hands clasping his sword hilt, he is seated with his legs bent in such a way that he hardly seems to be supported by his throne, which is upheld by winged horses shown in side-view. Probably the horse's head recently acquired by the Louvre once formed part of a Sassanian throne.

This rock-crystal cameo surrounded by three rows of glass rosettes, red and white alternately, the interspaces filled with lozenges of green glass, illustrates that taste for polychromy which characterizes Iranian art from the outset. Evidently the conjunction of 'noble' substances (the gold mount, rock crystal and rubies) with common glass did not offend the royal eye. An addiction to a plethora of glowing colours was steadily gaining ground, and reducing the role of the precious metal to that of a slender framework. This mode of ornamentation spread to other countries, reaching even the Atlantic coast.

245 - STRELKA. BOWL WITH CHOSROES I (6th CENTURY A.D.)

246 - KAZVIN. CUP WITH CHOSROES I? (6th CENTURY A.D.)

Another drinking bowl, in silver, represents the same king, Chosroes, in the same posture, but attended (like Bahram II on his bas-relief) by four nobles, concealing their hands in token of respect. Below this is a scene of the chase which, though it also celebrates the glory of the hunter-king, does not seem to have any direct relation to the scene above.

A bowl recently acquired by the Teheran Museum, probably dating to the reign of Chosroes I, confirms the predilection of late Sassanian artists for enshrining the royal effigy in a niche. As in the cave of Taq-i-Bustan, it is surmounted by merlons and a crescent and the uprights on the side are adorned with seven birds in medallions. The king's posture and the throne conform to the traditional presentation, but here we have two attendants in respectful attitudes posted on each side of the monarch.

247 - DRINKING BOWL. HUNTING SCENE WITH A SASSANID KING (5th-6th CENTURIES A.D.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

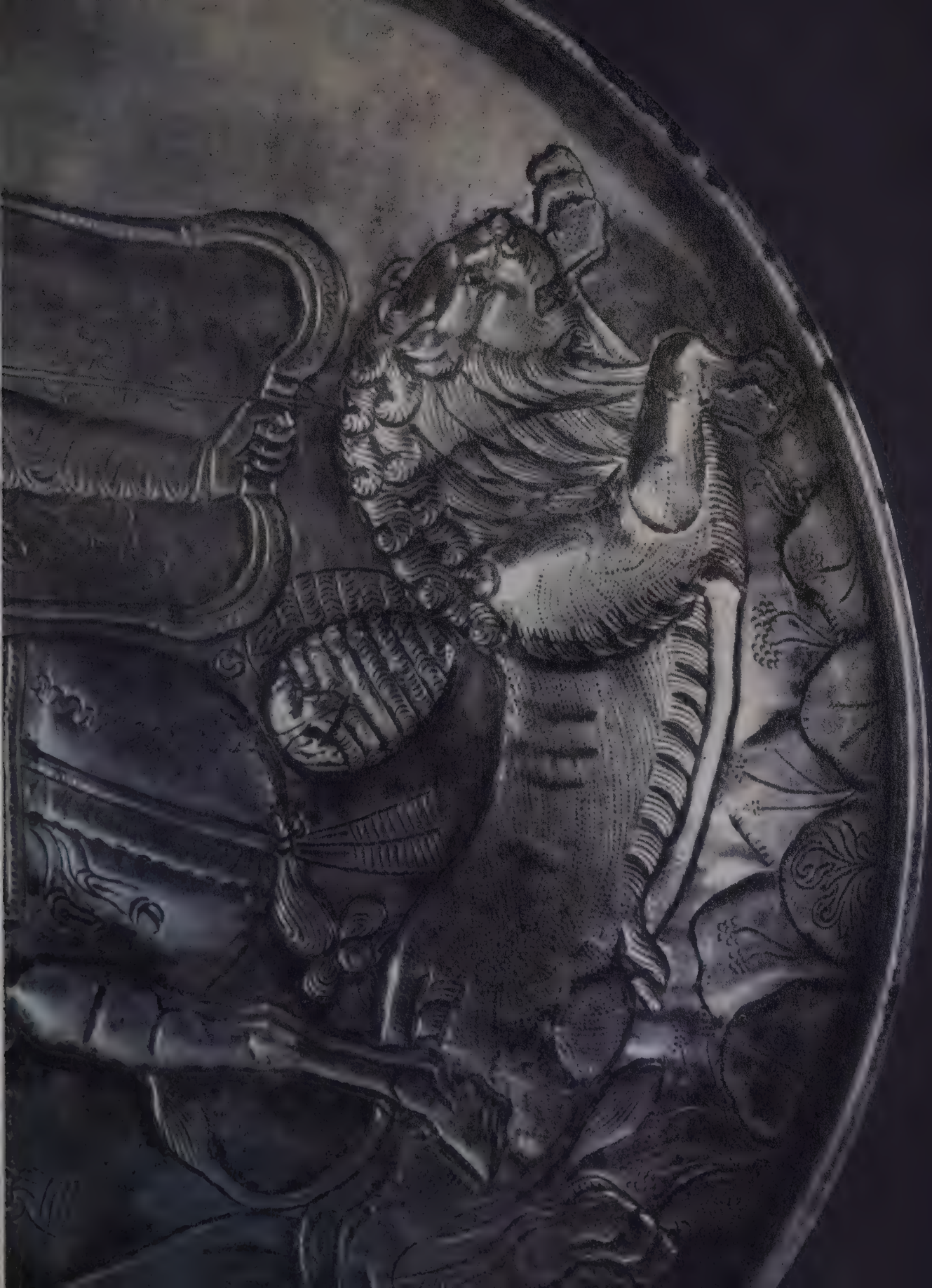
'Let us pass round the golden cup Persia has decked with divers images:
'Chosroes in the midst and, on the sides, antelopes pursued by riders armed with bows.'

(Abu Nuwas)

These lines remind us of the many scenes of royal hunts that adorn Sassanian silverware. One of the finest is a silver dish in the Teheran Museum. Victory over the king of beasts is an exclusively royal prerogative and it is as such that it figures in this scene of a prince on a galloping horse vanquishing two lions. The lay-out is based on two intersecting planes: the two parallel horizontal lines formed by the horse and the body of the prostrate lion are counter-balanced by the vertical lines of the prince and the second, rearing lion maddened by its wound. The fact that the scene is unrealistic—one would expect to see the unwounded animal flinging itself on the horse and rider—matters little. Equally improbable are the posture of the king, who seems to be riding with his back to his horse's head, and the way in which his sword and scabbard pass beneath his thigh and his garments float out in opposite directions. Yet once we accept these anomalies, we cannot but be gripped by the expressive power of this rendering of a combat between a man and the mightiest of beasts. The most dramatic detail is that of the lion in its death throes. A series of triangles, along with some flowers and shrubs, builds up a purely conventional landscape. The type of crown the king is wearing does not figure on coins; the diadem adorned with volutes assimilates it to that of Hormizd I or Shapur II. Thus this piece may be assigned to the late third or the fourth century: a dating borne out by the high relief given the figures and the emphatic modelling of the hunter's chest, stressing the muscular effort he is making as he draws his bow.

249 - SARI. DISH, DETAIL OF PLATE 248: DYING LION (LATE 3rd OR 4th CENTURY A.D.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

250 - SARI. DISH, DETAIL OF PLATE 248: MOUNTED HUNTER TAKING AIM (LATE 3rd OR 4th CENTURY A.D.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

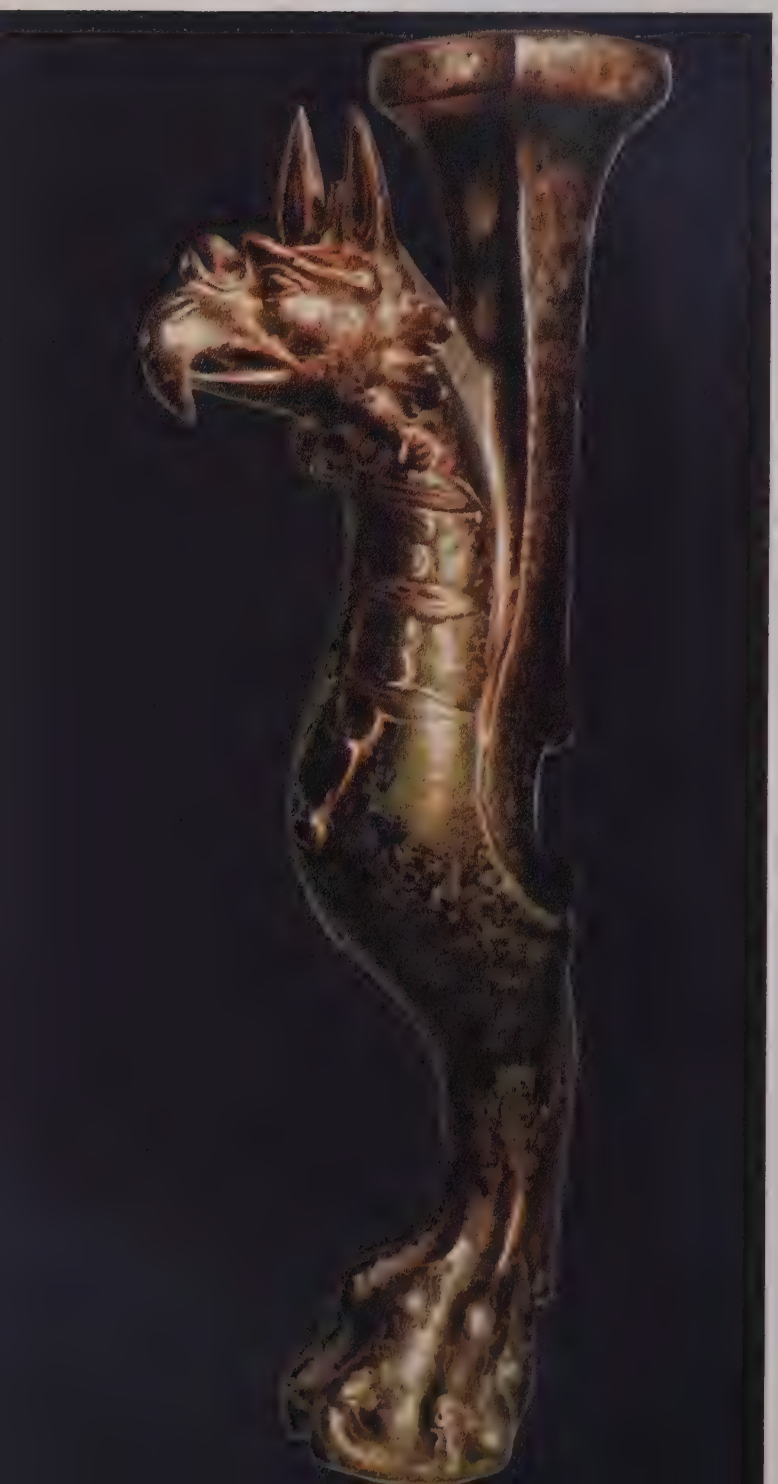


The scene of Shapur II hunting, in which the lion is rearing up to attack the rider who, while retreating, swings round to launch 'a Parthian shot,' is handled more soberly and realistically. As in all Sassanian art, the issue of the conflict—man against beast—is a foregone conclusion. But this scene also reflects the spirit of that belated 'romantic' Greek literature which made much of chivalry and derring-do. Heroism gives place to skill on another bowl, on which, once again, we recognize the theme of the Susa fresco: a king on horseback—Peroz or Chosroes II?—hunting a mixed assortment of animals. Note how the artist, with an eye to accuracy, has rendered details of the king's costume omitted in earlier works. None the less, complying with an age-old tradition, he launches the animals at the flying gallop and all he does to suggest a landscape setting is to insert three reeds above the boar. Each running animal is complemented by one already slain. The scene is one of wholesale carnage: under the horse lie dead two boars, a moufflon, a gazelle and an animal with very large horns. This last is not a stag, but a *cervus dama mesopotamica*, an ancestor of our stag, which figures on some Luristan bronzes: a species of deer whose origins go back, in Europe, to before the Ice Age, and all traces of which were lost in Mesopotamia (whither it had migrated) in the Middle Ages. In 1957, however, a German expedition found a few surviving specimens near Susa. On another dish we see Shapur II(?) dealing the death-blow to an animal of this species.

254 - DEILAMAN. DISH. SHAPUR II (?) KILLING A DEER (4th CENTURY A.D.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

'In the wine cup are images: you can glimpse smoothly swaying forms of lovely women.
'And when the wine is shaken, and grows beaded with single and double pearls,
'These fair ladies seem to deck themselves in golden raiment and to be wearing strings of pearls upon their breasts.'

(Abu'l Abbas an-Nashi)

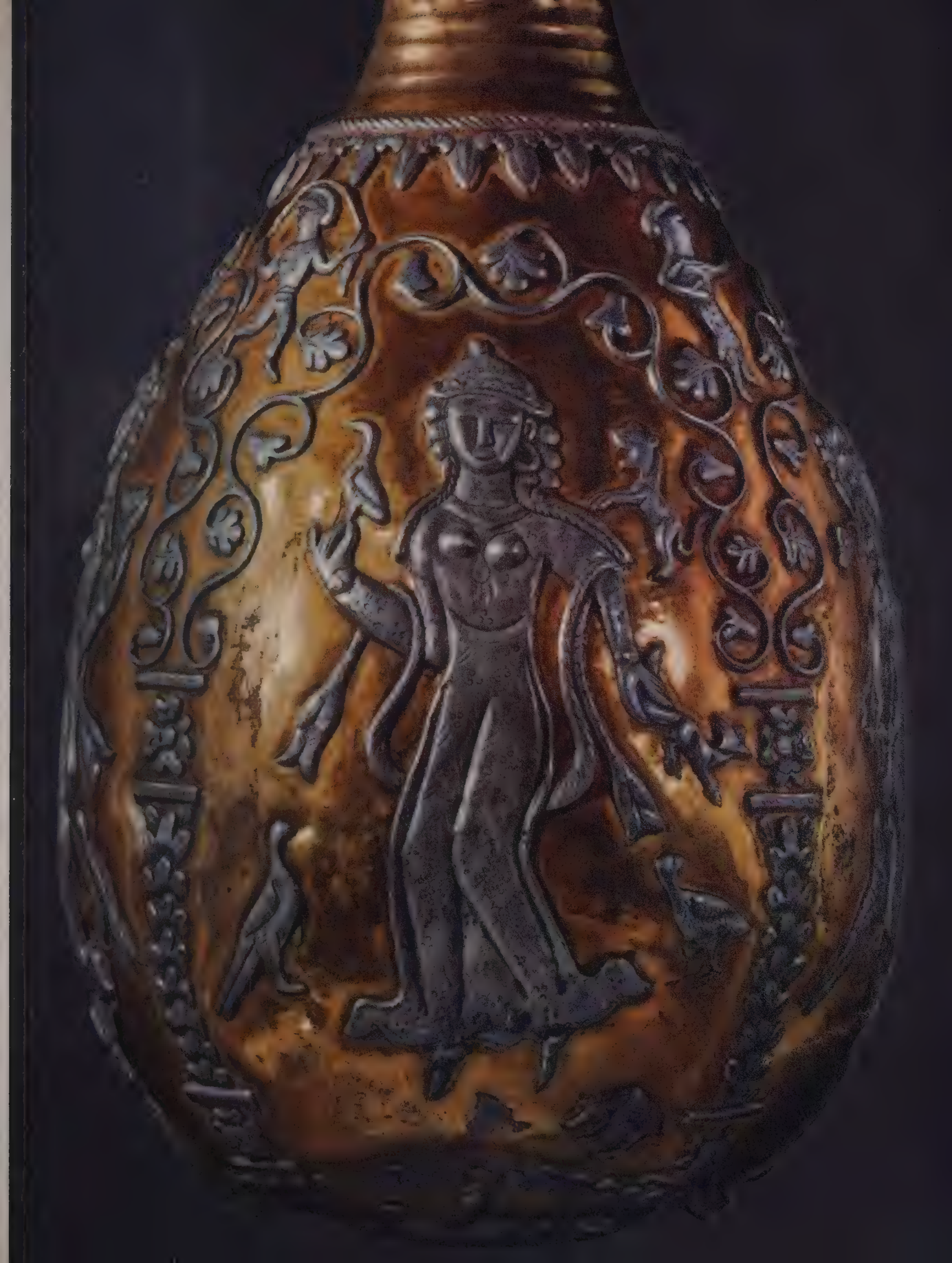


Many masterpieces of Sassanian art are variations on this theme; for example the boat-shaped bowl representing a banquet (fig. 242). On the broader sides we see a king wearing a winged crown, seated in a conventional attitude on a throne supported by two birds. (A similar leg, shaped like the foreparts of a griffin, gives an idea of the type of throne the artist had in mind.) One of those present is handing a wreath, symbol of the banquet, to the monarch, while an attendant plies a fly-whisk.

On the narrow sides, two naked girls are dancing under their veils which, flung into the air, form parabolas above their heads. That the nude, hitherto unknown to Persian art, made its appearance in the Sassanian period was certainly due to foreign influence. True, the makers of the Bishapur mosaics had already shown an appreciation of the beauty of the human form; but the nude found its full flowering only in silverware. The languorous attitudes, the strong yet supple bodies of the young women have the swaying movements and frankly sensuous appeal, as well as other characteristics (e.g. the raised arms) of the figures of Gupta art. Then again on a handsome silver jug we see musicians and tumblers performing while four dancing girls display their charms within a tracery of vine-shoots.

255 - IRAN. LEG OF A THRONE HAVING THE FORM OF A GRIFFIN — PRIVATE COLLECTION

256 - KALAR DASHT. JUG DECORATED WITH DANCING GIRLS (6th CENTURY A.D.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM



257 - MAZANDARAN. DRINKING BOWL DECORATED WITH FEMALE MUSICIANS (6th CENTURY A.D.) — TEHERAN MUSEUM

The hunting scenes on the sides of the Taq-i-Bustan cave give us an idea of the musical instruments used for accompanying dances and at religious ceremonies. Harps, trombones and tambourines were, it seems, the instruments most in favour at the Sassanian court. But the Persians were also fond of the mandolin and we see it represented, along with the flute, on some silverware. A silver bowl in the Teheran Museum shows, grouped around a dancer holding castanets, three female musicians, one of whom is playing a sort of bagpipe with five 'chaunters' above it. This instrument is referred to, by the name of *arghanum* (our 'organ'), in an Arab manuscript of the fifteenth century.

258 - BOAT-SHAPED BOWL, DETAIL: NUDE DANCING GIRL (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) — WALTERS ART GALLERY, BALTIMORE

259 - BOWL. ROYAL BANQUET (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) — WALTERS ART GALLERY, BALTIMORE

That the queen took part in certain banquets is proved by a cup in the Walters Art Gallery, a copy of a fifth-century work. The focal point of interest is the royal couple enthroned 'in glory.' Here the artist has had recourse to symbols. Thus the gesture of the king as he hands a festal garland to his wife signifies participation in a ceremonial banquet; similar garlands strewn at the foot of the throne imply the presence of a number of (unseen)

guests, and the boars' heads evoke the king's return from a successful hunt. Similarly the rams' horns and the pomegranate above the queen's crown are fertility symbols. The round medallions on the queen's shoulder and on the lower part of her dress are tokens of high rank, and also figure on the shoulders of princes; this essentially Sassanian ornament was adopted in Syria and at Byzantium.

A number of drinking bowls are adorned with animal motifs. These are usually hybrid or composite creatures, such as the fabulous Iranian bird, the *simurgh*, which combines the forms of a peacock, a lion, a griffin and a dog. According to Iranian legendary lore, the *simurgh* is a bird of good omen. Elsewhere we see a winged lion, baring its fangs and standing on a bare rock—a landscape very different from the scenes of nature usually figuring on drinking vessels. The fierce, demonic aspect of many of these animals has been interpreted as an expression of their supernatural powers. Their presence on Sassanian de luxe table services had certainly its *raison d'être*. Probably they were also meant to satisfy the taste which, from the beginning of the Christian era on, prevailed in the East (as in the West) for tales of travel in fabulous lands, for romances, for all that was marvellous and mysterious—even terrifying. The Iranian craftsmen did not hesitate to cater for this taste by depicting legendary creatures calculated to startle and intrigue, on the silverware used at the banquets of the ruling class.

260 - NORTHERN INDIA. DRINKING BOWL WITH A SIMURGH (SASSANIAN PERIOD) — BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

261 - SASSANIAN ART. DRINKING BOWL WITH WINGED LION (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) NELSON ART GALLERY, KANSAS CITY

262 - DEILAMAN. RHYTON IN THE FORM OF A WAR-HORSE (3rd CENTURY A.D.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

Under the Sassanians the usage of that distinctively Iranian drinking vessel, the rhyton, persisted, as it had done throughout the previous periods—in fact ever since the coming of the Iranians. The magnificent silver rhyton recently found at Deilaman has the form of a sturdy war-horse couchant. It is groomed in characteristic Sassanian fashion, with a tuft of hair on its brow and a plaited tail. Its mane is clipped short except for a few wisps of hair: a survival of the tradition of the nomad horsemen.

Bit and bridle are lacking; under the nose-band can be seen a muzzle (probably in metal) resembling those in bronze and iron which we found at

263 - (A) RHYTON. GAZELLE'S HEAD (4th-5th CENTURIES A.D.) (B) RHYTON. HORSE'S HEAD (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.)

Susa on the Sassanian level. From two medallions fixed to the horse's shoulders protrude the busts of two men dressed and wearing headdresses in the Sassanian style, one holding out a wreath that the other is, apparently, about to grasp. Though this scene often figures in Sassanian imagery, there is no knowing whether it is meant to glorify the rider or his mount.

The realism we find here is carried to even greater lengths in another rhyton, also in silver, having the form of a horse's head, in the Cincinnati Museum; and also in the silver head of a gazelle in the Guennol collection, which bears an inscription in the Pahlavi-Sassanian script.

264 - SUSA. CUPEL IN GOLD AND ROCK CRYSTAL — LOUVRE 265 - WOLFSHEIM. BELT-BUCKLE INSCRIBED IN PAHLAVI — WIESBADEN MUSEUM

Erdmann has pointed out that the animals of Sassanian art are more akin to those of the Scythians than to the Achaemenian or Parthian animals. It would seem that in or about the sixth century there took place in South Russia a revival of the then defunctive Scytho-Sarmatian art, and that this was due to the presence of the defeated Huns who had been pushed back into these regions. And it was during this same period that, under the auspices of Chosroes I and II, Persia entered on a brilliant phase of her evolution, in the course of which there was constant intercourse between the Sassanian Empire and eastern Russia. This may well have affected the luxury arts and given rise to new developments in that field.

The rock sculptures, stuccoes, silverware and engraved gems testify to the magnificence and diversity of the jewellery worn by the monarchs and the nobility. Western writers confirm the statements of Arab historians regarding the rich booty which fell into the hands of the victorious hordes pressing forward from the desert. But unhappily few specimens of this jewellery have survived.

A cupel in engraved rock crystal, set in a gold mount, with sockets that had originally contained precious or semi-precious stones, was found at Susa.

266 - PENDANT IN THE FORM OF A WILD BOAR (SASSANIAN PERIOD) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

A gold belt-buckle, now in the Wiesbaden Museum, which was discovered alongside a coin of the Emperor Valens (364-378), confirms the Sassanian addiction to polychromy and their lavish use of semi-precious stones. Like the gold cup of Chosroes I, the front of the buckle was almost entirely inset with the gems known to the ancients as 'hyacinths,' while engraved on the back in Pahlavi was the name of its owner, one of the Ardashirs. The small gold boar, probably used as a pendant, is in a private collection. The snout, eyes and hair of the animal's head are marked out by beaded lines. Soldered to its shoulder is another motif, a lion mauling an animal—an imitation of the 'symplegma' formations found on the stairways of Persepolis. Fastened in the same manner to the haunches are two outspread wings enclosing a crescent moon with a star above it. The symbolic nature of the two motifs is evident and the second one has a connection with the elements of which certain royal crowns were composed. This small object must have been a mascot owned by a member of the ruling House, for the boar, animal-incarnation of Verethragna, god of victory, was engraved on the royal seal affixed to edicts, treaties and State papers.

267 - LAJVARD. SASSANID KING (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) — LOUVRE

After the collapse of the Sassanian Empire much of the silverware was converted into coins. The bronzes, melted down for the same purpose, have suffered even more extensively from the ravages of man and time, with the result that very few have survived. Yet, judging by the bust of a king recently acquired by the Louvre, we may be sure that bronze sculpture played a considerable part in Sassanian art. There can be no question that this bust is a royal effigy; the winged crown below a crescent, the beard clasped by a ring, the *apezat* (braces) crossing the chest and held in place by a jewel are characteristic attributes of royalty. The traces of petals visible on the left shoulder suggest that originally the bust rose out of a floral support (like a small bronze in the Berlin Museum). This appears to be a late work and the production of a minor workshop, but there can be no certainty on either point, since the figure seems to have undergone restorations.

The function of a curious object hailing from the art market of Teheran is impossible to determine. It consists of a woman's head in bronze fastened to the tip of a long iron rod. The face is sketchily rendered and the eyes are indicated by incised circles with the pupils inset. The hair, clasped by a crown embellished with disks, is plaited and built up in the elaborately schematic pattern characteristic of Sassanian coiffures. The presence of the crown justifies us in assuming that this lady was a member of the ruling House.

268 - BRONZE HEAD OF A PRINCESS

269 - BUST OF A SASSANID KING (6th OR 7th CENTURY A.D.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION —

For many centuries the secret of the manufacture of silk was jealously guarded by the Chinese and the export of raw silk was an exclusively Chinese monopoly. Silk tissues made their appearance in Rome towards the beginning of the Christian era. Extremely costly, they were much prized by the upper classes and such was their vogue that satirical poets made mock of the Roman matrons' 'craze' for silken garments.

The great Silk Route from Chinese Turkestan to the Syrian seaports, where the raw material was woven, passed through Persia. But the frequent wars between Rome and Iran and the high prices fixed by the Persian middlemen led the Romans to seek out other routes. The discovery of the seasonal trade winds (monsoons) prevailing in the Indian Ocean led to the adoption by the first century A.D. of a sea route for the import of Chinese silk, and a regular service developed between the west coast of India and the Egyptian ports on the Red Sea. Thus Egypt became another great centre of the silk industry, the raw material being imported *via* the kingdom of the Kushans, whose great wealth in the second and third centuries was largely due to its trade with Rome. It was not until the sixth century that the silk-worm made its appearance at Byzantium; the Persians, it seems, were initiated into its culture only a little before the Romans.

Practically nothing is known about the earliest silk industry in Iran. Presumably the technique of the Syrian weavers was superior, for Shapur II, after his victorious campaigns, imported Syrian craftsmen who set up factories in Susiana, at Eiwan-i-Kerkha, Gundeshapur and Shushtar. Further influxes of technicians took place in the early sixth century, during the reign of Kavad and also probably in that of Chosroes I. Soon the industry developed to such an extent that Iran, which hitherto had confined itself to the transit trade in raw silk, now began to export materials locally manufactured. This led to what was in effect a 'silk war' between the Persians and the Romans, who now instituted taxes and monopolies. Meanwhile the Byzantine Church, perturbed by the extravagant demand for Persian silks, denounced these pagan fabrics tricked out with 'Persian flummeries and poems.'

For a proper understanding of Sassanian textiles and their designs a careful study of the garments worn by the figures on rock reliefs and in the frescoes is essential. Our earliest authority is the fresco at Susa (first half of the fourth century) in which the horseman's pink robe is interwoven with strands of gold forming a pattern of lozenges. Here the design is strictly geometric. Next came the Taq-i-Bustan bas-reliefs, which show an enlargement of the weavers' repertory of forms, purely decorative elements being combined with figures. Thus in the scene of a boar hunt, the king wears a garment adorned with *simurghs* in medallions, and even the costumes of the boatmen contain figurative motifs. This testifies to the great progress made by the textile industry in the century and a half between the Susa fresco and the Taq-i-Bustan reliefs.

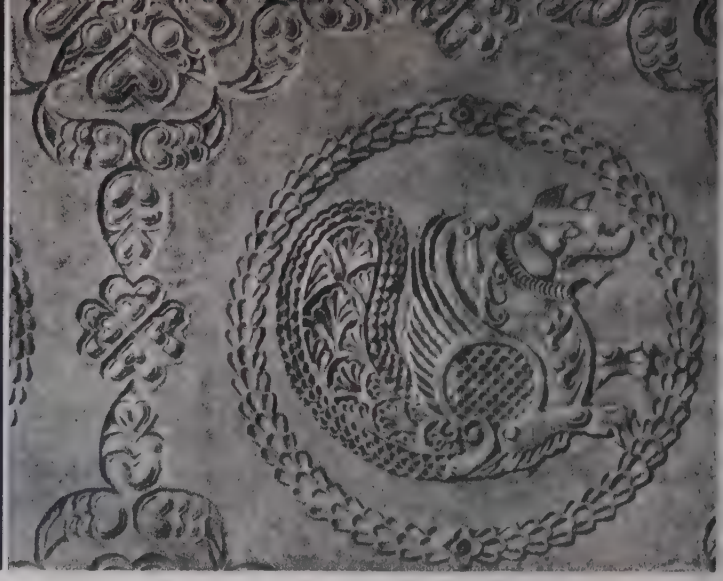
Though few full-size original pieces have survived, a fair number of fragments of silk tissues exist which can safely be ascribed to Sassanian workshops. These fragments are for the most part in European museums and in the Treasures of churches.

From the year 1000 on there was a flourishing trade in holy relics; every church in Europe sought to acquire the bones of saints and martyrs. When dispatched from the East they were always wrapped in precious fabrics and these were enclosed, along with the bones, in reliquaries. Since the reliquaries are opened only once in every hundred years or more, there are grounds for hoping that hitherto unknown fragments will be brought to light from time to time (as was the case with the shroud of St Calais some ten years ago). Moreover, during the Merovingian period Oriental fabrics ranked among the most prized ornaments of Christian basilicas. They were hung in front of doors and between columns, and used to screen sacraria or adorn the sarcophagi of martyrs and confessors. But the churches of Europe were not the only places where these costly tissues were preserved; the sands of Chinese Turkestan and the dry soil of Egypt acted as no less efficacious preservatives.

The decorative schemes of these Sassanian fabrics were for the most part composed of the 'wheels,' isolated or contiguous, described by classical writers as *circumrotatae*. As was to be expected, these compositions often embody motifs that can be dated back to the most ancient cultures of Hither Asia and the Iranian Plateau. For Sassanian Persia took over this legacy of the past and revivified the religious and heroic motifs in all their pristine splendour. The living creatures depicted in the 'wheels' or roundels are often symmetrically arranged, confronting each other or back to back, with a sacred tree or fire altar between them. Also there are often hunting scenes closely resembling those of the rock reliefs and silver tableware described at an earlier page. Sometimes, too, we find a frieze-like 'continuous decoration' that brings to mind the passant lions of the Susa bas-reliefs.

270 - TAQ-I-BUSTAN. BOAR HUNT, DETAIL: COSTUMES OF THE KING AND BOATMEN (5th-6th CENTURIES A.D.)

271 - RHAGAE. SIMURGH (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.)



272 - TAQ-I-BUSTAN. SIMURGH (CA. A.D. 600)

The decoration of Sassanian textiles usually comprises medallions adorned with beads, or 'hearts,' and including figures of real or fabulous animals, or human beings: mounted archers drawing their bows, or hunters vanquishing wild beasts.

One of the motifs figuring on late Sassanian silverware, and also on the edge of the garment of the king on horseback at Taq-i-Bustan, is that of the *simurgh*. This ferocious creature, a hybrid of peacock and dragon, figures in a series of tangential medallions on a Sassanian silk decorated in yellow on a green ground, which is divided between the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. It was once used to wrap the relics of St Lupus. We are thus enabled to date this magnificent fabric to the seventh century. To the same century may also be assigned a similar piece of silk in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. (Both Byzantium and Islam took over this fearsome creature, intermediary between man and the celestial powers, but toned down its ferocity.) The rock carvings on the walls of the Taq-i-Bustan cave furnished the Sassanian prototype of the elephant pattern that Moslim weavers were later to reproduce; as is proved by several faithfully

273 - ANTINOE. RAM (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.)

274 - CTESIPHON. PEACOCK (STUCCO). — BERLIN

275 - SIMURGH (7th CENT. A.D.) — MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS, PARIS

276 - SIMURGH (7th CENT. A.D.) — MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE

transcribed details, such as multicoloured motifs on the animal's hide and the palmette above it.

The cemetery at Antinoe (in Egypt) has yielded two fragments containing animal symbols: the ram, or *hvarena*, emblem of the king's power, and the winged horse, an avatar of the god Verethragna. The winged horse, which figured on Assyrian bas-reliefs at Nineveh, is also found on certain Luristan bronzes. On the Bishapur ossuary it is shown drawing Mithras's chariot. The ribbons round its neck and hocks, and the globe and crescent over its brows, together with its hieratic aspect, show that it, too, was a symbol of the royal power consecrated by a god. We find beribboned rams, an essentially Oriental motif, on another piece of silk, also from Antinoe and now in the Musée des Tissus, Lyons. But here the animals are not enclosed in a decorative pattern of roundels and move in different directions over several zones. With these may be compared two stucco reliefs from the ruins of Ctesiphon, now in the Berlin Museum. One represents a peacock, the other a ram lying on the ground, with a collar round its neck.

277 - ANTINOE. RAM (6th-7th CENT. A.D.) — MUSÉE DES TISSUS, LYON

278 - ANTINOE. WINGED HORSE (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) - LOUVRE

279 - BIRD (7th-8th CENTURIES A.D.) — LATERAN

280 - NIMBED COCK (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) — LATERAN

The practice of depicting animals beribboned and wearing collars was, however, chiefly applied to birds: cocks, swans and herons. A piece of sarcenet in the treasure of the Sancta Sanctorum of St John Lateran, Rome, contains medallions framing a rather curious type of bird with stylized plumage, shown in side view on a golden yellow ground. It holds in its beak a leafy frond and has excessively large spurs. Lauer regards it as an Asiatic (Colchian) species of pheasant, on to which fantastic elements have been grafted by the Sassanian craftsman. Distinctively Iranian elements can also be seen in the lozenged areas between the circles, in which figure tall vases with volutes filled with Persian palmettes. The resemblance between the beaded rims of the medallions and the circles on the banner of the Japanese Emperor Shomu (after 749) at Nara is too marked to be accidental.

This goes to show the widespread influence of Sassanian decorative art, which will become still more apparent when, in Chapter V, we point out all that the ornaments in the Imperial Treasure of the Shoso-in at Nara and the frescoes of the Tarim oases and Chinese Turkestan owe to Sassanian Iran. By the same token, the wonderfully graceful renderings of the water-birds that abounded in the hunting grounds of the last Sassanian monarchs were to delight Western eyes for many centuries to come.

A rigorously stylized silk in the Lateran Treasure may have been one of the gifts sent by Michael, son of the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus, to Pope Benedict II in the mid-ninth century. A nimbed cock in a circle tells out against a light yellow ground. The roundels stand clear of each other and in the interspaces between them are linked red and blue rosettes. The cock is rendered with meticulous precision, its outline emphasized by hatchings, and the overall effect heightened by a wealth of colours: red, blue, pale grey, yellow and lilac. A silk from Astana (Chinese Turkestan) is adorned with a very fine boar's head treated in a geometric style which, as in the case of the Lateran fabric, may have been a consequence of the technique employed. It conveys to wonderful effect the brute force of this creature of the wild.

281 - ASTANA (CHINESE TURKESTAN). BOAR'S HEAD (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) — NEW DELHI MUSEUM

282 - EASTERN IRAN. CONFRONTED LIONS (8th-9th CENT. A.D.) — NANCY

283 - EASTERN IRAN. SHROUD OF ST COLUMBA (8th-9th CENTURIES A.D.) — SENS CATHEDRAL

But the Iranian weaver did not confine himself to designs of single animals enclosed in circles. Sometimes we find symmetrically paired animals, as in the silk tissue in the Musée Lorrain, Nancy (from the reliquary of St Amon in the church of Saint-Gengoult at Toul), with two stiffly posed, unrealistic lions confronted alongside a palm tree. In taking over from Babylon and Assyria the familiar theme of confronted animals with a sacred tree between them, the Persians could claim good authority; the Avesta speaks of sacred trees growing beside a spring and having animals to guard them. Otto von Falke, who assigns the Nancy piece to a group of East-Iranian silks dating to the eighth and ninth centuries, compares these animals to the Irano-Buddhist type of lions hailing from Khorasan and the Oxus region. He draws attention to the shrubs dotting the background, also found in Sassanian silverware, and to the way the tree is rendered, as a tall stem adorned with specifically Persian palmettes.

Closely approximating to this textile are some handsome silks now in the Treasure of Sens Cathedral: the 'Shroud of the Holy Innocents' and the fragments removed from the reliquary of St Paula. The roundel decoration of confronted animals beside the Tree of Life recurs again and again, and even figures in the spaces between the medallions. The animals are not always lions; sometimes the weaver replaces them by birds or horses. The colour schemes of the tissues differ considerably; that of

284 - EASTERN IRAN. ROUNDELS WITH CONFRONTED LIONS (8th-9th CENTURIES A.D.) — VATICAN

the Shroud of the Holy Innocents is subdued (light yellows and greens on a buff ground), whereas in the fragments from the reliquary of St Paula there are stronger contrasts; bright greens, yellows and violets on vivid red.

In a very thick stuff from the same Treasure seven superimposed zones of roundels are arrayed on a buff ground. Each roundel contains a pair of confronted lions, whose forms are highly stylized and crudely rendered. They are standing on a terrace indicated by a palm tree with its branches spread out horizontally—a simplification of the traditional sacred tree. In curvilinear lozenges placed between the roundels are two foxes with two running dogs above them, distributed on either side of the Tree of Life. This sumptuously decorated textile was divided in 853 on the occasion of the simultanous translation of the relics of St Columba and those of St Lupus. Akin to it are a number of pieces classified by their owners (South Kensington Museum, London, and Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Brussels) as Byzantine work of the tenth and eleventh centuries. However, the rigid attitudes of the lions and the 'wheels' at their shoulder joints have much in common, rather, with the silk in the Musée Lorrain, Nancy, and the two equally famous fragments in the Lateran Treasure, Rome. Hence our opinion that the shroud of St Columba is probably of East Iranian provenance. Moreover, Pelliot found a very similar fragment in Chinese Turkestan (now in the Musée Guimet, Paris).

The presence of this motif of confronted animals with a more or less stylized tree between them on many other silks testifies to the popularity of the theme, a legacy from the most ancient cultures of Asia. We shall have occasion to revert to the most typical works when we trace the route followed by these motifs of the Ancient East from their points of departure in Sumer, Babylon and Nineveh, then through Achaemenian and Sassanian Persia to Byzantium, and finally to Islam and Western Europe in the Romanesque period.

Most of the textiles with figurative designs that have come down to us keep to this lay-out in roundels disseminated on the ground. But we also find large compositions covering the entire field. The technique makes it clear that these were the work of Egyptian or Syrian craftsmen, who, however, no less clearly took their lead from Sassanian prototypes. The most usual theme is that of the horseman swinging round on his saddle to let fly an arrow at his quarry and trampling prostrate animals, sometimes one above the other, underfoot. It is the subject of a fragment of tapestry, with decorations in wool and linen thread on a scarlet ground, in the Musée des Tissus, Lyons. Though stylistically Sassanian this may have been made in Egypt; it dates to the fifth or sixth century. Another tapestry fragment in the same museum, with a decoration in multicoloured wools on a pale pink ground, keeps to the system of the motif isolated in a medallion, but without impairing the dynamic value of the figure on horseback. Found at Antinoe, it dates to the seventh century.

We find the same composition, more elaborately treated, in the roundels of a blue silk (seventh century) divided between the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin, and the Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg. Two riders, frontally presented, wearing plumed helmets, confront each other; they are mounted on winged horses modelled on the hippocampus, seen in side view. Between them stands a tree of life, with voluted branches on which birds are perched. Under the horses are addorsed lions, and on the curvilinear surface around them we see tigerish creatures pouncing on quadrupeds. In developing ever more complex images while starting out from the same premises, the artists none the less conform to the basic principles of Sassanian decorative art: stylization and an overall symmetry of figural motifs.

In St Ursula's Church, Cologne, is a superb purple and blue silk showing a rider—some believe him to be Yazdgard III (632-651)—astride a griffin, repelling the attack of a winged, plumed lion. It may come as a surprise to find that even towards the close of the Sassanian period, artists still keep to the ancient formula of addorsed figures with a tree of life between them,

285 - EGYPT (?). CONFRONTED ARCHERS (5th-6th CENT.) — LYONS

286 - EGYPT (?). HORSEMAN AND TREE OF LIFE (7th CENT.) — BERLIN

287 - BYZANTINE ART. PILLOW (7th CENTURY A.D.) — VATICAN

of confronted lions couchant, and charging rams arrested in mid course. For the fabulous creature attacking the rider is the same as the one that flings itself upon the king in the palace of Persepolis. The genius rising from the sacred tree to aid the sovereign serves to evoke the esoteric purport of the figuration. For it recalls, if at a far remove, the victory of Ahuramazda over Ahriman (good over evil) and signifies the divine protection bestowed on the god's vicegerent on earth.

The Shroud of St Calais is the fourth fragment of a fabric with a dark blue ground, identical specimens of which are preserved at Cologne, Milan and Prague. The fact that the medallions adorning it are nearly thirty inches in height suggests that it was used as a hanging. The subject is a famous exploit of the Sassanian hero, King Bahram Gur. Seeing a lion savaging an onager, he shot an arrow through both animals, pinning them together. Though some details of costumes and the posture of the riders show this to be the work of a Syrian weaver, the strictly antithetical lay-out of the composition, the heart-shaped frames and above all the palmette between the medallions show that this sixth- or seventh-century shroud was made in an Iranian workshop employing Syrian technicians.

A small pillow in lampas (figured silk), in the Treasure of the Sancta Sanctorum of St John Lateran, which has a purple ground laid out diagonally, contains a variant of the typical Sassanian hunting scene. Decorations composed of tangential medallions arranged in parallel rows cover the entire field with a diversity of motifs in green, yellow and blue. Here the hunters are not on horseback but on foot, and are thrusting pikes into lions which, pursued by dogs, are rearing up, about to throw themselves on their assailants. In the lower register are two animal-fighters back to back; each is striking at a lion cub on which a sparrow-hawk is about to pounce. A number of elements—the palm tree, the edging of the circle, the slewing round of the lions' heads so that they are seen full face—invite comparison with the Shroud of St Calais and also with the St Ursula silk in Cologne. This work can be dated to the seventh century on the strength of a passage in the *Liber Pontificalis* mentioning a feather cushion made for Pope Sergius I (687-701).

288 - ISLAMIC ART. HAWKING (10th-11th CENT. A.D.) — PRIVATE COLL.

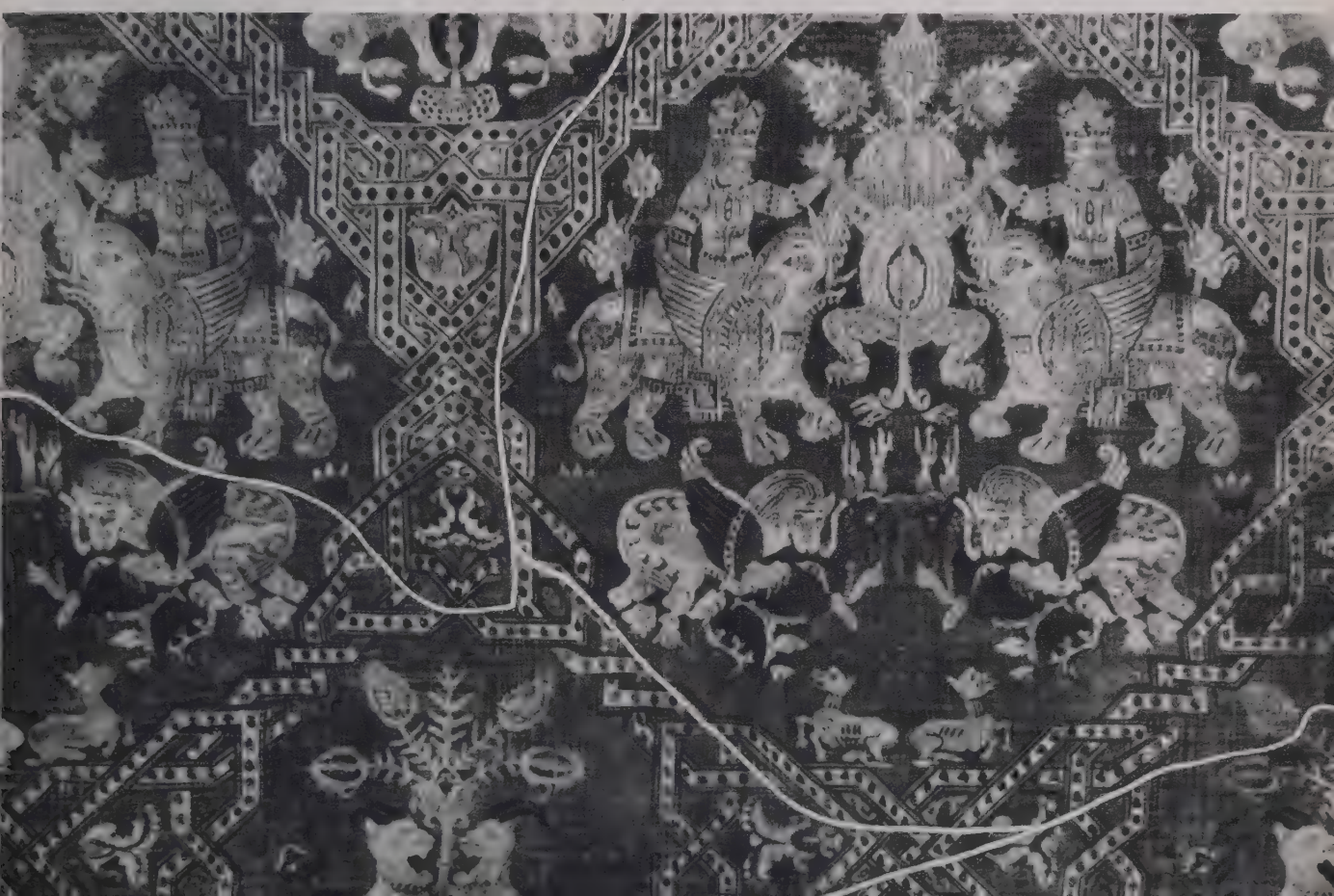
289 - ANTINOE. CHOSROES WATCHING A BATTLE (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) — MUSÉE DES TISSUS, LYONS

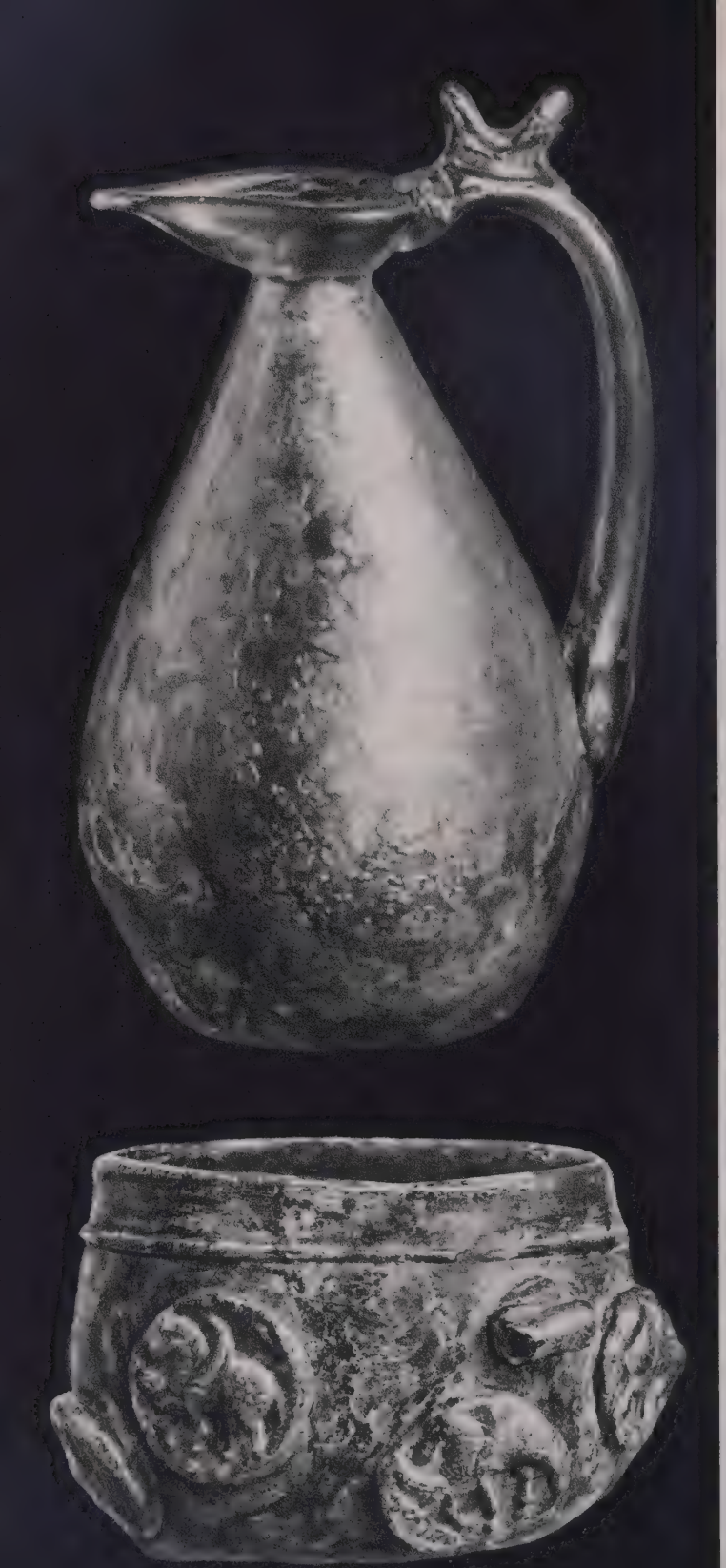
A fragment from Antinoe, part of which is at Lyons and part in Paris, gives an idea of the work of the Egyptian weavers when copying Iranian motifs. It also proves the existence of large-scale compositions on Sassanian silks as well. This fragment is worked in the Gobelins technique (no example of which has yet been found in Persia itself) in nine colours, with two scenes one above the other. In the lower one, on a blue ground spangled with stars and disks, we see the king in majesty, in the traditional posture. On two registers above him are depicted episodes of a war in which Persian mounted archers are in combat with enemy forces including Negroes. These may be scenes of the war waged by Chosroes I on the Abyssinians from the kingdom of Axum who had occupied the Yemen in about 525. In 570 the Sassanian king sent an expeditionary force which freed the region from Axumite domination. This scene of the triumph of the King of Kings was probably copied by Persian weavers from a fresco, and the Egyptians subsequently reproduced it on the Antinoe silk. This method of depicting men and animals with disproportionately large heads, and the spectacular attitudes struck by the warriors, are characteristic of the late Hellenistic Egyptian style, influenced by performances in theatres and circuses. This stuff can be dated to the late sixth or early seventh century.

The only textiles found on Iranian soil date to the Buyid period (tenth and eleventh centuries). These were discovered in a royal tomb near

Teheran. One is a hitherto unpublished fragment of a hawking scene. This theme, otherwise unknown in Sassanian iconography, seems to have been in favour with the artists of the early phase of Islam. The riders have the tufted beard around the cheeks which came into fashion under the Arabs. Heads and torsos are shown full face. The rearing horses confront each other on either side of the tree of life (in this case an ordinary palm tree) above two lions couchant at the foot of the trunk. The circular frame seems unduly narrow, considering the size of the scene it contains. The second fragment, found on the same site, depicts the familiar scene of an investiture. Riding winged elephants, the kings wear crowns that are a garbled version of the Sassanian royal headdress, made by an artist no longer familiar with its structure. The tree of life is replaced by a vanquished foe being quartered by the victors. Lower down is a late version of the ancient theme of Bahram Gur's hunt, in which the lion now is winged and a stag replaces the onager. The tress framing the vignettes contains a late Sassanian palmette. Two felines (no longer erect, but seated), tethered by their collars to the sacred tree, separate the large historiated passages. Sassanian iconography lived on in Iranian art after the fall of the dynasty, but the symbolic purport of its decorative motifs was lost on the weavers who continued to employ them, though their work was oriented by a new imagery.

290 - ISLAMIC ART. INVESTITURE SCENE (10th CENTURY?) — YALE UNIVERSITY AND PRIVATE COLLECTION





An indigenous glass industry had flourished in Persia for many centuries. It is hard to say whether its notable advance under the Sassanians was due to an influx of foreign technicians (as was the case with the textile industry), since very few specimens have survived—as was but to be expected, given the fragility of the material. What seems likeliest is that the Persian monarchs, impressed by the beauty of Roman glassware produced in the glass-making centres of Syria, Egypt and Cologne, took steps to improve the technical equipment of the local factories. These were already capable of producing blown, moulded and cut glass. An example of the blown glass is a pear-shaped jug, which reproduces the traditional form of Sassanian ewers in silver and pitchers in glazed terracotta. An exactly similar piece was found in the fourth-century, frescoed building at Susa. The gold cup of Chosroes, preserved in Paris, gives an idea of Sassanian moulded glass in several colours (here green and red). A bowl in the Berlin Museum is decorated with medallions in relief enclosing winged horses. Excavations at Susa have yielded some small bottles whose sides are fitted with small bosses to enable these fragile objects to be held more securely. The great quantity of broken glass discovered at Susa in the wells of private houses and dating to the early phase of Arab domination, proves that an extensive glass industry flourished in that city. Presumably it had already existed under the Sassanians and its origins may go back to the Elamite period.

291 - (A) JUG WITH HANDLE (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) TEHERAN MUSEUM (B) BOWL DECORATED WITH WINGED HORSES - BERLIN MUSEUM

293 - CAMEO. BUST OF KING KAVAD? (5th-6th CENTURIES A.D.) — CABINET DES MÉDAILLES, PARIS

For the author of the *Shah-nama*, the crown, the throne and the seal were the symbols of royal power under the Sassanids. But whereas the first two were reserved exclusively to the sovereign, seals were used by many classes of the population: nobles and commoners, priests, officials, tradespeople. And every State department—of justice, war, finance and so forth—had its own distinctive seal.

Among the engraved stones that have survived, the cameo is infrequent. Two of the finest pieces are the cameo representing Shapur I and Valerian, and the one bearing the effigy of King Kavad, both in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

On the other hand, there are thousands of Sassanian intaglios in museums and private collections all over the world. They have various shapes and the engraved surfaces, though usually flat, are sometimes convex. A variety of semi-precious stones is employed: chalcedony, sard, garnets, cornelians and agates being, it seems, more popular than rubies, amethysts, lapis lazuli and rock crystal. Despite their minute dimensions, the intaglios merit careful study, for they illustrate the entire iconography of Sassanian art.

The names of sovereigns are not invariably engraved on royal portraits. Examples are the seal of Bahram IV and that of a queen (the wife of Shapur I?) in the Foroughi Collection, which seems to be the work of a Western engraver. One of the finest of the seals engraved with busts of high dignitaries is that of Vahuden Shapur, who bore the title of *Eran anbarepat*, 'chief of the imperial household.' The Lady Hadgardukht is shown holding a flower, like the ladies on Greco-Persian intaglios and on the gold plaques in the Oxus Treasure. Among the oldest subjects of Persian seals is the married couple. The bust, somewhat elongated, is usually shown in side view facing right, very seldom frontally, on intaglios.

294 - INTAGLIOS. (A) DIGNITARY (B) QUEEN (C) BAHRAM IV (D) THE LADY HADGARDUKHT (E) COUPLE (F & G) BUSTS OF MEN — BRITISH MUSEUM, PRIVATE COLLECTIONS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

295 - INTAGLIOS. (A) RIDER (B & C) INVESTITURE SCENES (D) HUNTER — BRITISH MUSEUM, HERMITAGE, BIBL. NATIONALE

The scene of an investiture on horseback is copied from rock carvings, and even the prostrate enemy is included. This rider by himself may be the work of a foreign engraver. The artist was evidently unacquainted with the Pahlavi script and the horse is treated in the Western manner, though its Sassanian trappings are faithfully reproduced. A hunting scene seems to be the copy of a design on a silver drinking bowl. We are inclined to ascribe a similar scene to a workshop of 'outer' Iran. Two other intaglios contain banquet scenes, a subject always in favour with the goldsmiths.

INTAGLIOS: 296 - BANQUET SCENE — BRITISH MUSEUM

297 - BANQUET SCENE — BRITISH MUSEUM

TAGLIOS: 298 - MITHRAS AND WINGED HORSES — BERLIN MUSEUM

299 - GOD ABOVE A FIRE ALTAR — BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

Images of tutelary deities, their animal attributes and their incarnations figure in the copious repertory of the seal engravers. Above, we have the bust of the fire god, son of Ahuramazda, shown full face, rising above a fire altar; beside it we see Mithras with a team of two winged horses. The horseman fighting a six-headed hydra evidently derives from a myth akin to that of Herakles. Combats of this type often figure in the tales in the *Shah-nama*. The fabulous gryllus (seemingly an Iranian invention) is found on some intaglios; here it combines a human head with a lion's(?) and a bird's.

TAGLIOS: 300 - HORSEMAN FIGHTING A HYDRA

301 - GRYLLUS WITH HUMAN HEAD AND LION'S HEAD — PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

302 - INTAGLIOS. (A) MONOGRAM (B) FIVE ANIMALS' BODIES WITH ONE HEAD (C) THREE-HEADED DEITY (D) TWO-HEADED IBEX

Imaginary winged animals or real animals are the most frequent subjects, but their significance is as unintelligible to us as that of the many seals containing monograms. Conscious, one would think, of being 'possessed' by some occult power, the engraver allows free course to his imagination, gives a bird two or three human faces or affixes a single head to four or five animals' bodies. We also find some of the motifs employed in the earliest phase of Iranian art, such as two joined protomes of gazelles.

Commonest of the legends on intaglios is an appeal to good Zoroastrians to have faith in the gods: *apastan O yazdan*. This invocation suggests that the subjects of some engraved gems have not only a pictorial value but also a talismanic intent, ensuring for the owner of the seal the favour and protection of the gods.

These seals were applied to *bullae* of unbaked clay through which ran ribbons tied round rolls of parchment. The *bullae* are sometimes stamped with the names of several persons and often with the seals of high-ranking ecclesiastics, Magians or priests, holding judicial or similar posts. Such seals bear only an inscription with the priest's name and title, and the name of the town under his charge.

303 - BULLA. SASSANIAN SEAL IMPRESSIONS (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

Apart from a very few inscribed reliefs, it is the coinage that has most to tell about the appearance of the Sassanid kings and helps us to distinguish them. Each monarch possesses a distinctive identifying crown, and we find nearly thirty types of crown in use during the Sassanian period. Thanks to the inscription of the king's name on both sides of the coin (up to the reign of Peroz), the crown of each successive king can be authenticated. On one coin only, that of Bahram II, the queen figures beside the king.

The surface of the crown was sometimes grooved in the case of divine beings: Ahuramazda, Mithras, Verethragna and Anahita. Later, globes or the star-and-crescent motif replaced the *korymbos* (cluster of flowers or fruits). The crescent was repeated on the forehead as a decoration.

The technique of coin-engraving underwent far-reaching changes in the Sassanian era. The early coins are altogether admirable; plastic values are elegantly rendered in the royal effigies and there is a real attempt to make a lifelike portrait. This high standard was maintained throughout the third century and for part of the fourth. But in the next century the effigy becomes less clear-cut, outlines grow blurred. After a brief return to the earlier standard, this gradual deterioration persisted through the sixth century; for example, instead of hollowing out the coin to indicate modelling and volumes, the engraver merely incises it. This type of engraved coin remained in use for nearly a century after the Arab conquest of Persia.

SASSANIAN COINS — BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE
304 - ARDASHIR I (224-241)
305 - SHAPUR I (241-272)
306 - HORMIZD I (272-273)

The three phases we have noted in the art of coins and intaglios correspond exactly to the three successive periods of Sassanian art as a whole. During the third and fourth centuries there was a remarkable upsurge of the creative impulse and the works then produced were considerably finer than those of all the earlier periods of Iranian art. But already in the fourth century and more still in the fifth we find a steady decline in taste.

This persistent regression can be seen no less in the rock carving than in the art of the goldsmiths and engravers. Yet, despite its fluctuations, Sassanian art forms an organic whole and has a uniformity and continuity far to seek in the art of any other period of Iranian history. Never before had the works of art expressed so cogently the unity of the country, the monarch's omnipotence, the stability of the structure of the State and the social order and, by the same token, the taste of the upper classes for display and luxury. In pursuance of its nationalistic aspirations Sassanian art built up a repertory of appropriate motifs, which were reproduced on a grandiose scale in the rock carvings; on a reduced scale on the walls of palaces; and on a still smaller one on drinking cups and the tiny surfaces of signet stones. The favourite themes were royal investitures, combats, hunts and banquets. These found their way into even the workshops of the potters who furnished middle-class homes with drinking vessels, copying in slip the decorations applied to the gilded silver bowls owned by the well-to-do.

SASSANIAN COINS — BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE
307 - BAHRAM I (273-276)
308 - BAHRAM II (276-293)
WITH WIFE AND SON
309 - BAHRAM III (293)

SASSANIAN COINS: 310 - NARSAH (293-302) 311 - HORMIZD II (302-309) — BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

Much though it differs, superficially, from the art preceding it, Sassanian art was basically composed of ancient Iranian and Oriental elements. To these the Sassanians deliberately reverted when they revived the Achaemenian traditions which incorporated them. When, on the other hand, they took a lead from Parthian works of art, containing Hellenistic idioms, this was done unwittingly. Moreover by giving free access to the art which then was flourishing in the Roman provinces of Syria, they fructified their already copious repertory of forms. Shapur I, Shapur II and Chosroes I, successively, brought back thousands of prisoners or volunteer workers and posted them to local factories or employed them in enormous workyards. Some were set to building temples and palaces, some to making floor mosaics, others to weaving patterned silks or to stucco carving—and everywhere these 'displaced persons' have left traces of their handiwork. But these are merely incidental; Iranian art remained true to itself and its differences from contemporary Western art are far more vital than its resemblances. The borrowings from the West are always on the surface (as had been the case with Achaemenian art). Though they affected the form, the spirit of this art remained indomitably Iranian.

SASSANIAN COINS: 312 - SHAPUR II (309-379) 313 - ARDASHIR II (379-383) — BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

War and trade relations seconded the development of Sassanian art. After the fall of the Kushan empire the civilized world (other than the Far East) was divided between Rome and Persia. In Persia Rome had to face an adversary of equal, if not superior strength and no longer, as in the times of Parthian ascendancy, on the defensive. Defeats and victories alike, as well as a strict control of the East-West transit trade and the exportation of home-made products, opened up new possibilities to Iran in the field of art and provided fruitful contacts with the European world. Nor must we overlook the activity of the Sassanian Empire on its eastern and northern frontiers, where it valiantly defended the legacy bequeathed by the oldest cultures of the East and acted as a dike against the waves of nomads pouring in from the steppes. Not that Persia ever completely severed her links with the mobile peoples from which the earliest Iranians stemmed; indeed her art owed much to them. But by and large, under the Sassanians, Iran gave more than she received.

There can be no question of the abounding vitality of Sassanian art, and this accounts for its widespread influence in the contemporary world. How, then, account for its gradual decline? The explanation is that Sassanian art kept in step with the political fortunes—and misfortunes—of the State. At the close of the fourth century some dangerous neighbours, the Ephthalites or White Huns, established themselves on the eastern frontiers and in the reign of Peroz (457-484) Persia was little more than a vassal of the Ephthalite king. For over half a century he exacted a heavy annual tribute and even placed his nominees on the Persian throne. The Liberation under Chosroes I inaugurated a brilliant period, which, however, did not outlast the reign of Chosroes II. Under the second Chosroes the Persian army advanced from victory to victory, marched up the Nile to the frontiers of Ethiopia, besieged Constantinople and bade fair to re-establish the Empire of the Achaemenids. But the energies of Iran had been sapped by constant warfare, by revolts of the nobility and the under-privileged masses demanding social justice. Its moral values had been undermined by the scepticism of the 'Sages,' quick to detect the rifts in the structure behind the glittering façade.

Though Iranian society had a remarkable order and stability, due to its exceptionally rigid structure, pleasure-seeking was the order of the day, anyhow among the wealthy class. The kings founded cities and grandees built luxurious mansions, but quantity took precedence of quality. Thus stone carving was superseded by stereotyped, hastily executed stucco-work; the drinking bowl on which a goldsmith had spent months of patient toil was replaced by a mass-produced equivalent. This vulgarization of the work of art kept pace with the expansion of the Empire. Chosroes II conquered Egypt and his victorious armies laid siege to Constantinople. Ten years after his death came the collapse; the seemingly invincible Sassanian Empire fell rapidly to pieces under the onslaught of the Bedouins and the fanatical hordes of Islam.

314 - CUP, DETAIL: HUNTING SCENE WITH A SASSANID KI
(5th-6th CENTURIES A.D.) — PRIVATE COLLECTI

315 - SHAPUR III (383-388) 316 - YAZDGARD I (399-420) 317 - BAHRAM V (420-438)

318 - PEROZ (457-484) 319 - KAVAD I (488-496, 499-531) 320 - VALASH (496-499)

321 - CHOSROES I (531-578) 322 - THE FAVOURITE? (REVERSE OF 321) 323 - HORMIZD IV (579-590)

324 - CHOSROES II (590-627) 325 - FIRE ALTAR (REVERSE OF 324) 326 - ARDASHIR III (628-630)

SASSANIAN COINS
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS
DATING BY M. LERIDER, CHIEF CURATOR, CABINET DES MÉDAILLES

327 - QUEEN BURAN (629)

328 - HORMIZD V (C. 631)

SASSANIAN ART

Sassanian art is a neo-Persian art synthesizing Achaemenian and Parthian traditions. Characteristic of its architecture are the vault, the dome and the *iwan* (palaces and temples), and its architectural decorations take the form of revetments (Assur). Stucco and wall-paintings figure in the interior decoration of edifices (Ctesiphon, Eiwan-i-Kerkha). Syro-Roman mosaic art is adapted to Iranian taste (Bishapur).

Large rock reliefs immortalize the memory of the monarch. We find them first in Persis, then in the neighbourhood of Kermanshah (on the old Silk Route). Here, on the site of Taq-i-Bustan, towards the end of the fourth century A.D., sculptured decorations on the walls of the cave replace rectangular bas-reliefs. In this innovation, as also in the colossal statue of Shapur I hewn in the rock-face at Bishapur, there are reminiscences of Buddhist art. These may be accounted for by the close relations between Sassanian Iran and the Kushan Empire.

In the reigns of Chosroes I and II (sixth and seventh centuries) the flower-

KINGS - DATES	SITES
3rd century A.D.	
ARDASHIR I (224-241)	FIRUZABAD
SHAPUR I (241-272)	CTESIPHON
	BISHAPUR
HORMIZD I (272-273)	BISHAPUR
BAHRAM I (273-276)	BISHAPUR
BAHRAM II (276-293)	BISHAPUR
BAHRAM III (293)	BISHAPUR
NARSAH (293-302)	BISHAPUR
4th century A.D.	
HORMIZD II (302-309)	BISHAPUR
SHAPUR II (309-379)	NAQSH-I-RUSTAM
	EIWAN-I-KERKHA
ARDASHIR II (379-383)	
SHAPUR III (383-388)	SUSA
YAZDGARD I (399-420)	
5th century A.D.	
BAHRAM V (420-438)	SARVISTAN
	KISH
	CTESIPHON
	VARAMIN
	NIZAMABAD
PEROZ (457-484)	TAQ-I-BUSTAN
KAVAD (488-496, 499-531)	TAQ-I-BUSTAN
VALASH (496-499)	
6th century A.D.	
CHOSROES I (531-578)	KAZVIN (Iran)
	STRELKA,
	PERM (USSR)
	ANTINOE (Egypt)
HORMIZD IV (578-590)	DEILAMAN
CHOSROES II (590-627)	KASR-I-SHIRIN
	DAMGHAN
	SUSA
	ANTINOE (Egypt)
	DEILAMAN
7th century A.D.	
HORMIZD V (c. 631)	
YAZDGARD III (632-651)	
POST-SASSANIANS	EASTERN IRAN
8th-10th centuries	BYZANTIUM
	ISLAM

CHITECTURE	SCULPTURE STUCCO	METAL	PAINTING MOSAICS TEXTILES	CERAMICS GLASSWARE	GLYPTICS NUMISMATICS
lace - Temple ce (Taq-i-Kisra) lace A and B Temple ive Monument Fire Altar Ossuary	Bas-relief Stucco Decoration Bulls' Heads Reliefs: Deities Statue of Shapur I Rock Reliefs at BISHAPUR and NAQSH-I-RUSTAM		Mosaic Pavement		Cameo of Shapur I Intaglios and Coins of the Sassanian Kings
Palace	*Triumph and Investiture of the Sassanian Kings*	Silverplate: *Hunting Scenes* Silver Rhytons	Fresco: *Hunting Scene*		
Palace Palace Triple Iwan Large Cave	Royal Busts (stucco) Mural Decoration (stucco) Rock Reliefs Reliefs: *Investiture and Hunting Scenes*	Gilt Silverplate: *Royal Banquet* Leg of Throne in bronze	Textile (wool and linen): *Confronted Horsemen*		Cameo of Kavad I
lace - Temple Palace	Mural Decoration (stucco)	Cup of Chosroes Silver Bowl: *King Enthroned* Bronze Busts of Kings Silverplate: *Hunting and Banquet Scenes*	Tapestry: *Chosroes fighting the Abyssinians* Silks: *Roundels and Animal Motifs* Silks: *Roundels and Animals Passant*	Cups of Coloured Glass Pottery Jugs of Blown Glass Glazed Pottery Cups of Cut Glass	Intaglios and Coins of the Sassanian Kings
			Silks: *Hunting Scenes*		
			Silks: *Confronted Animals* Shroud of St Calais Silks: *Hunting Scenes*	Pottery: *stylized polychrome designs*	

ing of the luxury arts surpasses even that of the period of the great Shapurs. Scenes of the king feasting, enthroned or engaged in combat, hunting wild beasts on foot or on horseback, are among the iconographic themes that recur most frequently in the applied and decorative arts.

The gold and enamel drinking vessel known as 'the Cup of Solomon' ranks as the masterpiece of Sassanian goldsmiths' work. It is exceptional, for silver or silver-gilt was more usually employed for drinking vessels. The demand for royal busts leads to a revival of the bronze-smith's craft, but few specimens of this are extant. Sassanian textile art is closely bound up with the Chinese silk industry and with the competition between Rome and Iran for a monopoly of that market. Hence the interplay of influences from the Far East and those of the Greco-Roman world, found in Iranian textiles. An indigenous glass industry flourishes in certain centres (e.g. Susa). In the seventh century ceramics are enriched with the enamel glazes employed in T'ang China. There is also a steady production of cameos, seals and intaglios, and Sassanian coins have an equal interest for the historian and for the archaeologist.

PART TWO

331 - LURISTAN. BRONZE VOTIVE PIN (8th-7th CENTURIES B.C.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

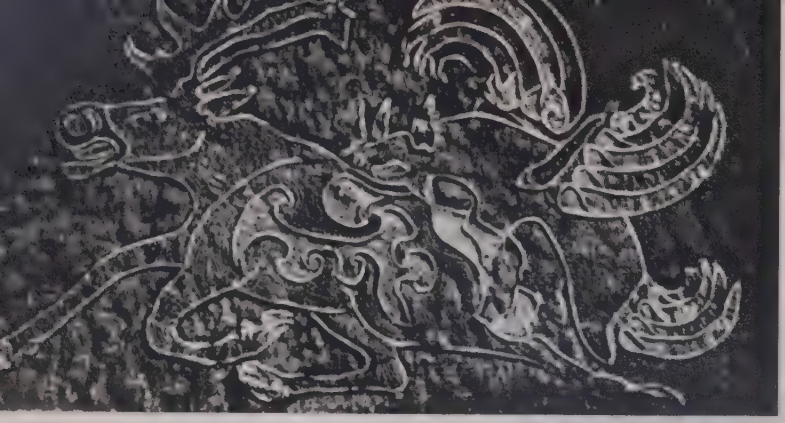
IV

THE PARTHIANS AND THE ORIENTAL *KOINE*

For nearly five hundred years, from the third century B.C. onward, a signal feature of world history was the ascendancy of the Iranian empire which, under Parthian domination, included vast tracts of the continents of Asia and Europe. From the Danube to the estuary of the Indus, from the Euphrates to the frontiers of China, the Iranians drove back the outposts of the Greek world and imposed their rule on the ancient civilizations of the East.

Essentially a nomad people, they retained their ancestral traditions in the lands they conquered. The nucleus of the kingdom was constituted by the Parthians, who had on their flanks the Sarmatians (in South Russia) and the Kushans (in eastern Iran and India). Despite the great variety of lands and peoples, languages and cultures brought under the domination of this race of warriors born, who saw the world through nomad eyes, there is a remarkable unity in the art of the period. Hunting and fighting bulked large in their lives and among their favourite motifs were combats of men with men and men with animals—which both enlarged the existing repertory of forms and gave rise to new developments in animal portraiture. In these works we often sense a community of feeling between man and beast, each alike staking all in a fierce struggle for supremacy.

330 - LURISTAN. SQUARE-HEADED VOTIVE PIN (8th-7th CENTURIES B.C.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION



332 - NOIN ULA. WOOLLEN CARPET (1st CENTURY B.C.) - HERMITAGE

333 - SIBERIA. GOLD PLAQUE (1st CENTURY A.D.) - HERMITAGE, LENINGRAD

334 - CHINESE ART. BRONZE PLAQUE (HAN DYNASTY) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

Aulic Achaemenian art was not distinctively Iranian. At once eclectic and grandiose, it signified the triumph, aesthetically speaking, of the settled population over their conquerors and masters, the nomads. For a truly Iranian art we must turn to that of Luristan, which gave expression to all the iconographic themes current among the nomads of the steppes, whence came the Medes and Persians, Cimmerians and Scythians. Gifted with a vivid imagination, the Luristan bronze-workers created groups of fantastic animals fighting each other in an inextricable medley of writhing limbs and bodies. It is hard to say how long this art continued on the soil of Iran. For it was soon overshadowed by Achaemenian art and put to the service of the imperial aspirations of the new rulers.

That it continued to flourish in southern Siberia is proved by discoveries at Pazyryk. It also made its way to Noin Ula in northern Mongolia, whence comes a woollen carpet with appliquéd ornaments showing a winged griffin attacking an eland. We find the imprint of Luristan art on gold plaques from Siberia and, travelling still further east, in the work of Chinese bronze-smiths of the Han period. The motif of heraldically confronted animals, frequent in western Asia and particularly appreciated in Luristan, had already made its appearance in the seventh century B.C., in the Taman district of South Russia; in Siberia at the close of the first millennium B.C.; and in China under the Han dynasty.

335 - BELT BUCKLES: (A) CIMMERIAN ART (B & C) CHINESE ART — GOLD BRACELET: (D) ART OF THE STEPPES

Even the curious animal-shaped *psalia*, so popular in Luristan and among the Scythians of South Russia, were copied by the Chinese when they equipped their own cavalry with the same weapons as those of the nomads with whom they were constantly at war. It is strange to think that a thousand years, and many more miles, lay between the animal on a pin from Luristan and the Chinese (Han) ibex on a clasp.

With the Sacae and Kushans, we turn to India and here we find an animal style differing from that of the Scythians of South Russia, one of whose distinctive features was the 'zoomorphic juncture,' an arbitrary welding of the body of one animal to that of another. In the art of the Sacae and Kushans, even when an animal is composite and purely imaginary, it has an organic unity and, however unrealistic in appearance, an emotive, sometimes almost tragic quality. Whereas in the stylizations of western Asia the salient muscles of haunches or shoulders are fully moulded and ribs and manes incised, we here find elaborate inlays of gems or enamel. For this art is essentially polychrome and transposes on to metal the wealth of colours that the art of Pazyryk imparted to objects in leather, felt or fur.

336 - (A) SCYTHIAN ART. PSALIA (B) LURISTAN. PIN (C) CHINA. CLASP (HAN DYNASTY) — HERMITAGE AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

337 - SARMATIAN ART. PHALERA IN GILDED SILVER (2nd CENTURY B.C.) — BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

The art current which brought this polychrome style to South Russia can be traced back to the second century B.C. when the Sarmatians (who did much to further its transmission) poured into this region and drove the Scythians westward, towards the Dobruja and lower Danube. Clad in heavy armour, wielding long lances and enormous swords, their horses bedecked with gaudy trappings, they created a vogue for that polychrome jewellery whose origins go

back to Luristan and which was produced *en masse* by the Ziwiyeh craftsmen.

By a reflex movement this multicoloured art of animal forms made its way to South Russia, where it was taken over by the Goths, and it subsequently won favour with the Romans. The Huns, who invaded the Pontus region in the fourth century, brought it with them to Hungary. Thence it spread to the Atlantic seaboard, bequeathing its jewellery to Merovingian art and influencing the Germanic peoples, who in turn transmitted it to the Scandinavians. The coming of the Parthians reinstated the lavish use of colour in costumes and ornamentation, but in a more sophisticated and elaborate form, that had originated and flourished in Iran in an earlier period.

This reinstatement led to a revival of the native Iranian elements whence derived the Scytho-Sarmatian works in which the ancient imagery (stylistically very different from early Scythian art) was given a new lease of life. Animal figurations were now restored to their natural settings and we find a new interest in decorative effects tending to abstraction, or spiritualization.

Imperial Persian art came to an end when Persepolis went up in flames. But unlike the official art, Achaemenian art survived, anyhow in part, in the 'Greco-Persian' intaglios. A return to the sources, as as we have seen, becomes perceptible in Iran only about the first century B.C., for, as Foucher justly remarks, 'slow cultural changes always lag behind the ephemeral political regimes whose task it is to supply the initiative for such changes.' The Seleucids were forced back into Syria. Although the Parthians who gradually took over their empire made a practice of Philhellenism, it took them two full centuries to 'swallow the Greek poison.'

The only religious theme used by the Achaemenians was that of the king sacrificing at a fire altar under the bust of Ahuramazda, and the *thymiaterion* figures again and again in all the arts of the Parthian world. On many monuments we see a king, a priest or an ordinary worshipper, alone or accompanied by others, making an appropriate ritual gesture. Such was the religious tolerance of the Parthians (most clearly illustrated at Dura) that the same sacred rites were enacted at all sacrifices, whether the gods to whom these were directed were Greek, Babylonian, Arab, Jewish or Roman. The sacrificial scene carved on the rock at Bisutun and again at Tang-i-Sarwak is reproduced on Kushan coins, as also on the Gandhara bas-reliefs. A graffito on a Parthian vase at Assur is obviously inspired by the terracotta figurines produced at Susa. All these works go to show that everywhere the religious art of the period conformed to the same long-established formula, a formula that was adopted in regions far outside the Parthian empire where it had originated.

Centring as it did on funerary and religious rites, the art of Luristan was not called on to celebrate the consecration of the ruling monarch's power by divine authority. In Scytho-Sarmatian art, however, we find this 'political' usage of a religious theme, and it was also current in Achaemenian art.

338 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. TOMB OF DARIUS I, UPPER RELIEF (6th-5th CENTURIES B.C.)

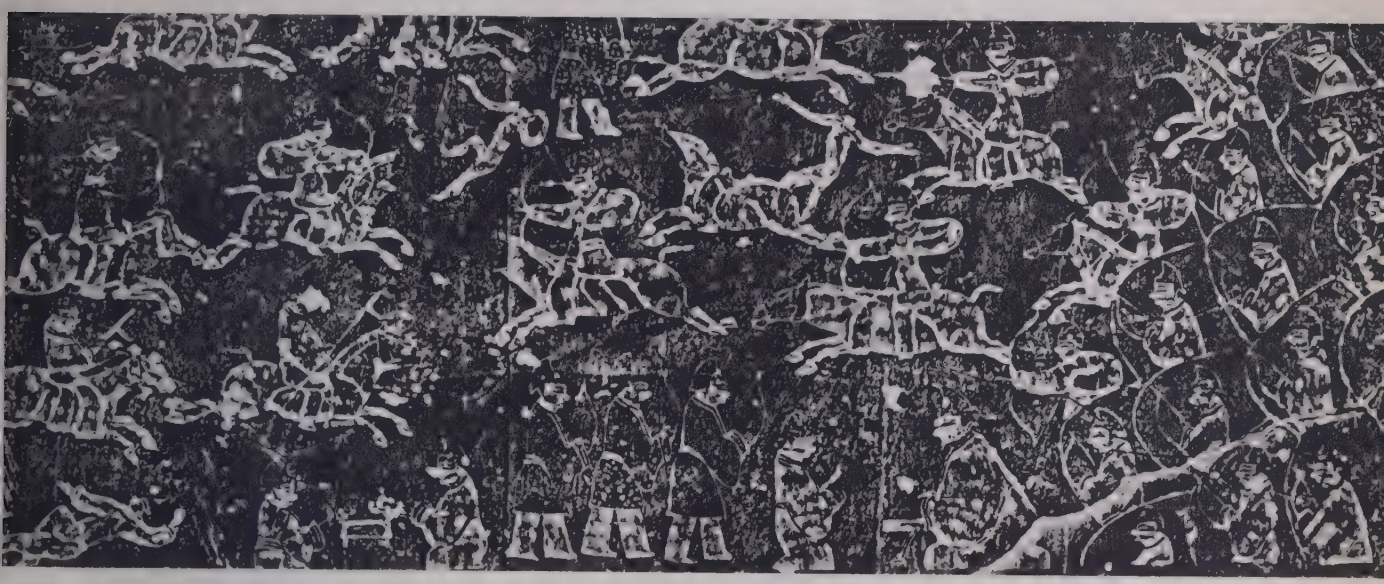
For, whereas the rock relief above the royal tomb at Naqsh-i-Rustam, showing the King of Kings sacrificing at an altar in the presence of Ahura-mazda, is essentially religious in conception, the idea behind the depiction of the same god on the Persepolis relief seems to have, rather, a political intent. (This is borne out by Darius's inscriptions.) The notion of a pact between the reigning monarch and his god is conveyed by the celestial presentation of the ring, symbol of sovereignty. If this view is correct, the Persepolis reliefs lay at the origin of the long sequence of investiture scenes in Iranian art. It was perhaps due to Greek influence that the god was, later, treated anthropomorphically: shown standing while he consecrates the king on the Tang-i-Sarwak relief, and on horseback on Sassanian reliefs.

339 - NAQSH-I-RAJAB. EQUESTRIAN INVESTITURE OF SHAPUR I (3rd CENTURY A.D.) →

340 - PARTHIAN HORSEMAN (1st-3rd CENTURIES A.D.). TERRACOTTA — BERLIN MUSEUM

The combat between mounted men is in the nature of a rite; between princes it signifies a struggle for power. This is the purport of the relief of Gotarzes at Bisutun; also perhaps of the Tang-i-Sarwak relief. With the Parthians this theme was very popular. At Dura, where it figures in graffiti on walls, it is obviously a continuation of the scenes engraved on Greco-Roman intaglios. One of the 'jousts' depicted at Dura shows a combatant unhorsed and falling headlong in a naively rendered pose. True, this drawing dates to the early Sassanian period, yet its presence at Dura suggests that this motif existed in Parthian art. It made its way to the Crimea, where we find it in the tomb paintings at Panticapaeum, and eastwards to China, where it inspired the funerary relief (c. A.D. 129) of Hiao-t'ang-shan in Shantung.

341 - PANTICAPAEUM. SARMATIAN ART. FUNERARY PAINTING (1st-2nd CENTURIES A.D.)



342 - CHINESE ART. MURAL DECORATION OF A TOMB (HAN DYNASTY)

Hunting bulks large in Parthian art. The ancient traditions of the art of Luristan are perpetuated in the figures of Iranian archers. At Dura we find many hunting scenes—in frescoes, graffiti and stucco decorations. The westward transmission of the legacy of Achaemenian art is evidenced by the hunting scene forming part of a funerary painting in one of the houses at Dura. The same applies to the mural decorations of the tombs at Panticapaeum in South Russia. The eastern Iranians, Sacae and Parthians had their silver drinking vessels adorned with scenes of the chase. In one of these the floral *omphalos* betrays Greek influence, though the overall lay-out is Iranian and derives from the art of Luristan. An *omphalos* (in gold) also figures on a piece from the Oxus Treasure showing two groups of three hunters, in one of which

343 - PERM. GRECO-IRANIAN ART. DRINKING BOWL WITH LION HUNT — HERMITAGE

they confront each other. This work may probably be dated to the Parthian period; the tiger's fur is exactly like that of the bronze animal in the Berenson Collection, while the two crossed lions, their shoulders marked with spirals, prefigure the similarly disposed lions on a Sassanian silver ewer in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

Following eastward the manifestations of this art, we discover traces of it as far afield as Siberia, whence came one of the handsomest gold plaques in the collection of Peter the Great. The subject, a hunting scene, rendered with the utmost vigour and even traces of emotion, is one which has persisted in Iranian art down to modern times. A similar episode figures on a Persian sixteenth century brocade. The theme, so popular with the Parthians, of a mounted archer riding a horse at the flying gallop made its way to China where we find it carved on a tomb of the Han period and also on a tile.

344 - PERSIAN ART. BROCADE. HUNTING SCENE (16th CENTURY A.D.) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

345 - SIBERIA. ART OF THE STEPPES. GOLD PLAQUE (1st CENTURY B.C.-1st CENTURY A.D.) 346 - CHINESE TILE (HAN DYNASTY)

347 - AIRTAM (RUSSIAN TURKESTAN). FRIEZE. MUSICIANS AGAINST A GROUND OF ACANTHUS LEAVES (1st CENTURY B.C.)

The banquet scene, which formed part of the ancient repertory of Iranian art and was taken over by the Achaemenians, reappears in Parthian art. Sometimes it illustrates a funeral feast and is accompanied by a representation of the deceased man hunting, as in a painting on the walls of a house at Dura; we also find it on the walls of a tomb at Panticapaeum. Some small plaques (in bone) from Olbia in South Russia depict feasts enlivened with music and dancing. The theme was taken over by Gandharan art (traces of which are found north of the Oxus) and interpreted with a new wealth of details.

348 - OLBIA. BONE PLAQUES. DANCERS AND ACROBATS (1st-2nd CENTURIES A.D.) — HERMITAGE

349 - PALMYRENE ART. FIGURE IN PARTHIAN COSTUME (1st-2nd CENT. A.D.)

350 - MATHURA. KING KANISHKA (2nd CENT. A.D.)

The great bronze statue from Shami is not unique of its kind; Henri Seyrig has pointed out its close resemblance to a stone statue from Palmyra, which has 'the same strictly frontal presentation, the same purely intellectual realism, and in the details the same narrational (not visual) rendering of the artist's impressions.' The Palmyrene figure may be a copy of one of the bronze statues transported by local caravans from the great foundries at Ctesiphon and Susa. The numerous stone pedestals used to support bronze statues of the Hellenistic and Parthian periods which were found in the ancient Elamite and Achaemenian capital, testify to the undiminished activity of the ancient foundries, which were famous as early as the second millennium B.C.

Statuary of the same type, in stone, has been found further east at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan, and closely related to it is the statue of King Kanishka discovered at Mathura in India.

353 - MAIKOP. FIBULA. FIGURE BRANDISHING A SEVERED HEAD (1st-3rd CENTURIES A.D.) — PHILADELPHIA

Speaking of the Hatra masks, and those on the ivory rhytons from Nysa, we mentioned their wide diffusion and the fact that their prototype went back to Cemetery B at Sialk. The popularity of this motif with sculptors, modellers and metal-workers extended to Siberia, and similar masks figure in Roman mosaics, in paintings at Pompeii and frescoes in South Russian tombs. The talismanic function of these faces was gradually forgotten and the mask came to serve a different purpose. Whereas originally it had figured forth a god, it came to represent the head of a decapitated enemy—in short, the symbolic commemoration of a victory. This is its purport on a gold ornament of the third century B.C. found in a tomb in the Kuban region; on a Sarmatian fibula (first-third century A.D.) from the same region; and also on an open-work gold ornament of the first or second century in the Stoclet Collection, discovered at Kurgan Zubov on the east coast of the Black Sea.

We have already spoken of the wealth of colours in the jewellery of this period. The personal adornments found at Palmyra and Hatra are the same as those on the Gandhara sculptures. Warka, Nippur, Begram and Taxila have yielded ear-rings, necklets and gold bracelets inset with semi-precious stones. Kings wore round their necks torques of several strands terminating in animals' heads. In common use among the Lurs and Achaemenians, this

354 - (A) KURDZIPS. GOLD ORNAMENT (3rd CENTURY B.C.) (B) MINUSSINSK. PENDANT (8th-10th CENTURIES A.D.)

355 - SCYTHIAN ART. GOLD ORNAMENT (1st-2nd CENTURIES A.D.) — STOCLET COLLECTION

type of ornament was adopted by the Sarmatians in South Russia.

The works of the Parthian bronze-smiths were widely appreciated and copied throughout this vast area. Thus the perfume-burner with a handle in the form of a feline was reproduced at Hatra as well as at Taxila and a jeweller working for a Sarmatian clientèle at Novocherkassk made a similar animal in onyx, with the head and hindquarters in gold.

In both religious and secular art, the fresco was in high favour, from Palmyra to South Russia and Turkestan. For the most part the painters, like the sculptors, kept to the method of strictly frontal presentation practised in the art of Luristan. Figures are always disposed in rows, never in groups, even when they are separated by architectural elements, as at Dura, Nysa, Toprak-kala (Turkestan) and in Gandharan art. Thus a rider, though his horse is shown in side view, slews round the upper part of his body so that he faces the spectator: a convention followed both in the Dura graffiti and in Indian sculpture of the second century B.C., in the stupa at Bharahat. Another traditionalist feature of this art is that animals are usually shown moving at the flying gallop—thus perpetuating the figurations on Greco-Persian gems. This standardized motif was employed in the arts of several regions: South Russia, Siberia and China.

356 - (A) NOVOCHERKASSK. PERFUME FLASK (B) HATRA. PERFUME BURNER HANDLE (C & D) TAXILA. CENSER HANDLE, PERFUME BURNER

Commercial publication of manuscripts had begun in Greece as early as the fifth century B.C. During the Hellenistic period there was a great demand for illustrated books. The tales of heroes they recounted were represented in paintings to begin with, then in works of plastic art. Sequences of scenes in which the same hero enacted the leading role, and each of his exploits was given a separate illustration came into general use during the centuries preceding Christian era. As Weitzmann has remarked, a link between 'literature and the figurative arts had now been forged,' and the 'continuous narrative' style was a natural development of the pictorial cycles that soon came into vogue. Hellenistic art propagated this new style and Parthian art may well have played a part in its transmission further east. The only example of 'continuous narrative' on the Iranian plateau itself is the group of bas-reliefs at Tang-i-Sarwak, but we find it in frescoes in South Russian tombs and it was employed extensively in the Buddhist art of Gandhara.

It was not only from illustrated books that Parthian artists drew inspiration. The fabulous legends transmitted by oral tradition were already popular, if Ctesias is to be believed, in the Achaemenian period. A taste for stories of gods and heroes, for travellers' tales, for descriptions of faraway exotic lands, of fantastic or demonic beings, steadily gained ground and the itinerant storyteller (still a familiar figure in present-day Iran) could count on a warm welcome in the homes of the nobility and townsfolk. And naturally enough these themes were taken over by artists.

As far back as the third century B.C. plastic depictions of incidents in Greek tragedy were being utilized for decorative purposes in the Hellenistic world, for example on the sides of Megarian bowls. And metal-workers of the later period carried on this tradition. Their art was diffused as far afield as the banks

357 - KUSTANAI. BOWL DECORATED WITH SCENES FROM GREEK TRAGEDY, DETAIL (1st-2nd CENT. A.D.) — HERMITAGE

of the Oxus where, at Termez, an *askos* decorated with a scene from the *Bacchae* has recently been discovered. That Euripides' play was known in Iran is proved by Plutarch's mention in his *Life of Croesus* of the presence of the Parthian king, Orodes I, at a performance of the *Bacchae.*

To Weitzmann falls the credit of being first to detect on a group of silver vessels in the Hellenistic style, made by Greco-Iranian craftsmen, a series of scenes from the tragedies of Euripides. While concentrating on the 'crises' of the action, the artist deliberately invests these scenes deriving from the Hellenistic world with 'barbarian' allusions, as when a Greek hero is shown clad in Iranian costume, or a banquet is given a wholly Oriental ambience.

Scenes from four of Euripides' tragedies, the *Alcestis*, the *Alope*, the *Bacchae* and the *Ion*, have been identified on the Hermitage drinking bowl. The central medallion represents, according to Weitzmann, a scene in the last-named play. To the same family of silverware belongs another bowl (also in the Hermitage) which seems to be a late copy of a work made fairly early in the Christian era. On it figure two incidents from *Syleus:* Herakles sold as a slave to Syleus, then slaying his master after a feast. The feast scene derives from Iranian iconography and is a replica of the same motif on a drinking bowl in the Walters Gallery, Baltimore. Both bowls derive undoubtedly from the same source. The costumes of the figures take us to eastern Iran, while a creature, half bird, half animal, flying with a wreath in its beak reminds us, if at a far remove, of the *putto* on the Bishapur reliefs who is shown descending like a Niké from the sky to present a diadem to King Shapur I after his victories over three Roman emperors.

We have shown how the exclusively Persian art which had prevailed under the Achaemenians was submerged after Alexander's conquest of the country

360 • BOWL WITH TWO SCENES FROM 'SYLEUS,' DETAIL (7th CENTURY A.D.?) — HERMITAGE

by new art trends stemming from the West. This was followed by a transitional period in which Greco-Iranian gave place to Neo-Iranian art. While there was some deterioration in technique, this was offset by a revival of the national tradition. In the course of time this Neo-Iranian art intermingled with the arts of Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean and as its sphere of influence widened, reaching into South Russia and Central Asia, India and China were affected by it. In some parts of these countries the presence of Iranian settlements contributed to its expansion, all the more so since its handling of forms resembled theirs. Another cause of the wide diffusion of Iranian art was the great improvement in communications. Caravans laden with merchandise travelled from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Pamirs and the discovery of the monsoon winds in the first century A.D. facilitated seaborne trade between Egypt and Arabia and Western India. On the island of Kharak, north-west of Bushire in the Persian Gulf, are two large tombs with several *loculi*, one of them decorated with a funeral banquet scene in relief. Both are exact copies of tombs at Palmyra. This suggests that a Palmyrene entrepot had been established on the island for handling the transit trade to and from India.

The facts set forth above account for the 'family likeness' between Palmyrene works of art and the Gandhara bas-reliefs, between the jewellery and paintings of South Russia and those of Syria, between the Taxila and the Hatra bronzes. The entire East, as far as China, despite its great diversity of cultures, adopted the repertory of forms employed in Parthian art, which in fact came to constitute the Oriental *koine* or 'common tongue' of art we have spoken of above.

The renaissance of Parthian art lost nothing of its driving force, nor was its evolution affected by the change of dynasty. Its immediate successor, Sassanian art, not only followed in its path but extended its field of influence still further westwards.

361 - SURKH KOTAL. STATUE OF A KUSHAN PRINCE (2nd CENTURY A.D.) — KABUL MUSEUM

THE PARTHIANS AND THE ORIENTAL 'KOINE'

Under the Parthians, Iran breaks free from Hellenism and, harking back to autochthonous traditions, imposes its artistic conceptions on a large area of the eastern world, from the Euphrates to China, from Siberia to India, from the highlands of Mongolia to the Bosphorus.

The Parthians' deliberate return to the animal forms of the Luristan bronzes, with their tendency to symbolism and abstraction, wins favour in the Scytho-Sarmatian centres of Eurasia, and the revelation of this art stimulates the creative impulse of the bronze-smiths of Central Asia (Taxila) and Han China. Similarly the craftsmen of the Pontic region adapt effects of polychromy, applied to precious metals, to the tastes of the Sarmatians and Goths.

In figural arts the Parthian national revival has no less far-reaching effects. It adds a new lustre to certain iconographic themes (banquets and combats of men on horseback in South Russia and north of the Oxus), and imposes its rigorous frontalism (statues at Surkh Kotal, Gandhara and Mathura) and its compositional schemes, aligned or convergent, on reliefs and painting (Gandhara). Furthermore, the widespread diffusion of the Iranian costume and Iranian personal adornments (Surkh Kotal, Gandhara, Mathura) points to the existence of a *koine*, an artistic *lingua franca*, among the peoples of the East during the Parthian supremacy.

IRAN	MESOPOTAMIA SYRIA
B. C.	
300 -	SELEUCID Empire (312-64 B.C.)
250 - *Beginning of the Parthian Dynasty*	
200 -	
PARTHIAN ART Statue of a Parthian Prince from Shami	
150 - *The Parthians on the Euphrates* BISUTUN Relief of Mithridates II	
100 -	
	63 - SYRIA becomes a Roman province
50 - *Beginning of the Parthian Wars with Rome*	53 - Defeat and death of CRASSUS Tomb of Antiochus I of Commagene **GRECO-IRANIAN ART**
A. D.	
	DURA EUROPOS *Parthian Painting (scenes and compositions)*
50 - BISUTUN Relief of Gotarzes II (38-51 A.D.)	
Nysa Monuments	KASR-EL-ABIAD *Statue (frontality, drapery)*
100 -	
TRAJAN'S *Expedition to Parthia* (115 A.D.)	
150 -	
Campaigns of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (197 A.D.)	ROME annexes MESOPOTAMIA (199 A.D.)
200 -	
TANG-I-SARWAK: *bas-relief* SUSA: *bas-relief of Artabanus V*	**PARTHIAN ART** at PALMYRA *(principles and composition) Links with* KUSHAN ART
224 - *End of the Parthian Dynasty*	
300 -	267 - ZENOBIA, Queen of Palmyra

ITALY	SOUTH RUSSIA	SIBERIA MONGOLIA	CHINA	INDIA
:26 - *ROME now master of all Italy*	**SARMATIAN ART OF THE STEPPES**	*Iron Age at* MINUSSINSK (300-200 B.C.) ALTAI: PAZYRYK (4th-3rd cent. B.C.)	End of the Period of the 'CONTENDING STATES' *Animal Art influenced by the Art of the Steppes* Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-25 A.D.)	Independent Kingdom of BACTRIA *Pillars inscribed with the Edicts of the Emperor* ASOKA (264-227)
	MAIKOP: *Enamelled Silver Belt* NOVOCHERKASSK *Treasure*	*Greco-Oriental Influences*	140-87 - *Expansion into* CHINESE TURKESTAN 115 - *Relations with* BACTRIA ART of SILK-WEAVING	*Conquest of* GANDHARA *and the* PUNJAB *by* DEMETRIUS (c. 189) *Conquest of* BACTRIA *by the* YUEH-CHI (c. 130)
	Treasure of Peter the Great (gold plaques)		ART of METAL-WORKING *influenced by the Animal Art of the Steppes*	Rise of the KUSHANS
- TRAJAN oman Emperor	KERCH Funerary Paintings *(Parthian scenes and compositions)*	NOIN ULA: *textiles* TASHTYK CULTURE (1st-4th cent. A.D.) *Survival of Scytho-Siberian Art* *Links with Han Art*	EASTERN HAN DYNASTY (25-220 A.D.) KIANG-SU *First Buddhist Community* (60-70 A.D.)	*Expansion of the* KUSHANS *Trade with* ROME **GRECO-BUDDHIST ART** of GANDHARA KAPIÇA, HADDA, TAXILA: *Parthian Principles and Conventions* **ART OF MATHURA** Temple of MAT: *Greco-Iranian Art* First Effigy of the Buddha
3 - Trajan's Column *Appearance of the 'continuous narrative' style* 3 - SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS oman Emperor	**PARTHIAN ART** at OLBIA		HIAO-T'ANG-SHAN (c. 120) Funerary Relief *Contact with the Parthians* *Buddhist Translations into Chinese by the Parthian* AN-SHIH-KAO (148)	Statue of VIMA-KADPHISES **GRECO-IRANIAN KUSHAN ART** *Links with Parthian Art* Emperor Kanishka (144-185) Statue of KANISHKA SURKH KOTAL *(Afghanistan)* Temple
		ART OF THE GOTHS	*Last* KUSHAN *Embassy to* CHINA (c. 230)	BEGRAM *(Afghanistan)* Ivories

363 - KUBACHI. DAGHESTAN HORSEMAN (12th CENTURY)

V

THE DIFFUSION OF SASSANIAN ART

In Sassanian art we have the final phase of the art of the Ancient Near East. Neither the outcome of a sudden 'renaissance' nor a belated manifestation of Greek art, it embodied the Iranian aesthetic, founded on the age-old art traditions of Western Asia. End-product of a long evolution, it still had vitality enough to make its mark on the arts of neighbouring lands. Born of a resurgence of the Oriental peoples and voicing the aspirations of a mighty empire, it rejected the 'Oriental *koine*' of Parthian art and bridged the gap between the ancient civilizations of Asia and the new civilizations of Islam and mediaeval Europe. But its role as a propagator of forms did not stop there. Penetrating to India and China along the trade routes and in the wake of religious movements, it continued to act as an intermediary, both transmitting Western values to the Far East and undergoing in turn the joint influence of Chinese and Indian art traditions.

62 - ANGOULÊME. CONFRONTED HORSEMEN (12th CENT.) — IN SITU

A time had come when the survival of Zoroastrianism was imperilled by the rise and spread of the four great world religions, Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism and Manichaeism. Its articles of faith were accordingly codified in the Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians, but that was not enough: the Sassanian national religion had to defend itself by force. Kartir, the highest dignitary of the Zoroastrian priesthood in the second half of the third century, boasts in his inscriptions of having persecuted Christians, Manichaeans and Buddhists. By driving certain 'heretical' communities out of the country and exiling others to remote borderlands, these persecutions contributed to the diffusion of Sassanian culture. Everywhere we find signs of its influence, particularly in the field of iconography: among the Iranians north of the Oxus and in Chinese Turkestan, among the Turks of Central Asia, in China, in Arab art, in Egypt, in Byzantium and in the Roman Empire of the West.

It is well to remember that Roman art was essentially the art of a mighty empire. Its eclecticism, eminently suited to a practical-minded people with an abiding sense of their own greatness, resulted from successive borrowings from the various countries conquered by the Roman armies. Thrown into contact with the art of Sassanian Persia, the Romans discovered techniques that had been revitalized by a return to the old native traditions, those of the Medians, the Achaemenians and the Parthians. As it so happened, these techniques, elaborated in Iran in the first three centuries of the Christian era, corresponded to the requirements of the Roman imperial style, as is clearly evidenced by contemporary historical bas-reliefs.

For these works, Sassanian and Roman alike, are an unqualified glorification of the masters of the empire, figuring forth their triumphs and feats of arms. Concerned primarily with narration, they tend to compete with painting on its own ground and thus, in course of time, to discard plastic values. Whatever Rome's share in this evolution may have been, the fact remains that an Oriental influence unquestionably entered into it. In the manifestations of Asiatic art, from Elam to Persia, this pictorial conception of the historical relief is plain to see. And that this inveterate conservatism should have gradually affected classical art was only to be expected.

When we study the evolution of the Neo-Iranian bas-relief in the early centuries of our era, we find that it was constantly seeking to break away from 'monoscenic' composition. In so doing it passed through three successive phases. At Tang-i-Sarwak (last quarter of the second century) it stood on the brink of the 'continuous narrative' style of Sassanian rock carvings. At Firuzabad (second quarter of the third century) it brought together in a single picture three different scenes, whose only element in common was the theme of a Sassanian victory over the Parthians. Then, in the reliefs of Shapur I (second half of the third century) a new method comes to the fore, in which several episodes, illustrating various incidents in the struggle between Persia and

Rome, are grouped together in a single scene. Everywhere the chisel lowers the relief and gives the eye the impression of linear design and essentially pictorial effects.

Under Trajan, in the opening years of the second century A.D., the Roman historical relief attained a pre-eminence that was never to be surpassed. In studying Palace B and the fire temple at Bishapur we identified Roman workmanship in the building methods, which much resemble those of Shehba-Philippopolis, the city built by Philip the Arab, the Roman emperor whom Shapur compelled to sue for an inglorious peace. Foreign participation is equally evident both in the architectonic design of the relief in Palace B and in that of the concave bas-relief standing on the right bank of the river. Symmetrical presentation of motifs on superimposed registers on either side of the vertical axis formed by the main subject, is a characteristic feature of the great imperial Roman bas-reliefs. (The same schematic lay-out is found in the frescoes of the synagogue at Dura Europos.) Certain technical features of these Sassanian reliefs, particularly in the rendering of the captives, point to Trajan's Column as one of their sources of inspiration. But at the same time we seem to detect an undercurrent of Achaemenian and Parthian art. Indeed it would seem that the influences we have in mind were reciprocal, for the schematism, archaism and frontality equally noticeable in Late Roman art are generally held to be due to Persian influence.

364 - BISHAPUR. TRIBUTE BEARERS (3rd CENT. A.D.) — IN SITU

365 - ROME. TRAJAN'S COLUMN, DETAIL (2nd CENT. A.D.) — IN SITU

366 - SYRIA. THEATRE OF SHEHBA-PHILIPPOPOLIS (3rd CENT. A.D.)

The composition of the bas-reliefs of the Sassanian kings makes it clear that the sculptors were familiar with illustrated books. These, we learn from later writers, were the sources of the oldest Arab and Persian works on the history of pre-Islamic Iran. Mas'udi claims to have seen in the early tenth century, in the home of a nobleman of Fars, at Istakhr, a 'large book' containing 'pictures of the kings of Persia of the race of the Sassanidae,' which he describes as a copy of one discovered in the royal treasure in the year 781. He goes on to say that the pictures were painted on very thin sheets of paper with colours of a kind 'no longer to be found nowadays,' made of melted gold and silver and pulverized copper. Istakhri mentions the rock sculptures of Shapur and asserts that their history was to be found in books piously preserved by the people living in the fortress of Shiz. It may be that the 'Epic of Ardashir Papakan,' founder of the Sassanid dynasty, was illustrated and that the story of his victory over Artabanus V, the last Parthian king, formed the theme of three separate pictures, each showing a pair of combatants. In this case the sculptor of the large bas-relief at Firuzabad may have taken inspiration from these illustrations but grouped the scenes together in a single composition.

The cycle of Shapur's bas-reliefs, with his triumphs over the Roman emperors Gordian III, Philip the Arab and Valerian, provides the best evidence we have of the interrelationship between illustrated books and the representational arts. The three episodes in the war between Persia and Rome,

367 - SYNAGOGUE OF DURA EUROPOS. FRESCO. THE ARK OF THE COVENANT IN THE TEMPLE OF DAGON (A.D. 245-256) — DAMASCUS

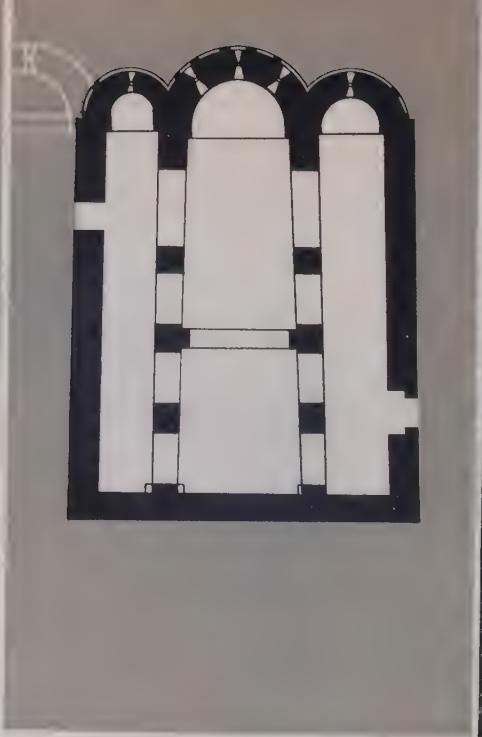
which dragged on for sixteen years, may be presumed to have figured separately, on appropriate pages, in the illuminated annals of Shapur I. Starting out from these paintings, the sculptor 'condensed' them into a single composition, grouping round the figure of the king the three vanquished emperors, each identifiable by an appropriate pose. No such lay-out is to be found on any previous Iranian monument, so it may well have been suggested to the Sassanian sculptors by book illustrations.

On the other hand, this juxtaposition of different scenes around a central figure or object, serving to locate them in space and time, might have been suggested by art trends deriving from the Roman West. A fresco in the synagogue of Dura Europos, illustrating the story of the Ark of the Covenant in the Temple of Dagon, god of the Philistines (1 Samuel, v-vi), confronts us with a similar, roughly contemporary scene (245-256) painted by Syrian artists. The fall of the pagan statue is conveyed by two pictures, one showing it intact, the other with the head broken off; all the sacred utensils are scattered over the ground, each represented twice, while the Ark, drawn by two oxen, is about to be moved out of the temple. The miniatures presumably serving as models for this fresco must have included three versions of the tale, in each of which the picture of the Ark was repeated. The procedures followed in these frescoes of Syrian origin are thus identical with those employed in the narrative art of the Sassanian rock sculptures. The latter, conceived in a spirit diametrically opposed to that of classical art, exerted an influence on the Roman historical bas-relief just when its evolution was drawing to a close.

Finally, we would point out that, while the Sassanian bas-relief and the Roman historical relief have much in common, there are nevertheless fundamental differences between the two art forms. Relief in the West was a motion picture; in the East it was a 'still' of what was thought to be the most revealing scene. Whatever the reciprocal borrowings, Sassanian relief-work remained essentially Iranian, always keeping to symmetrical composition and an heraldic style. Owing to its occult implications—for in Iran the representation of a victory was regarded as magically enhancing the prince's power and glory—it answered to a conception utterly foreign to that of the Roman relief.

When Christianity triumphed in the fourth century, after the conversion of Constantine the Great, it took over an art idiom already worked out by the great civilizations of the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates—an idiom whose themes and forms, moreover, owed much to the religions of the East and to Greco-Roman paganism. Christian communities had been established in the Parthian Empire in the opening years of the second century and, according to the Chronicle of Arbela, had built churches there. Syria, always a bone of contention between Persia and Rome, was compelled to surrender a large number of conquered towns to Shapur I, including Antioch (260). Their inhabitants, mostly Christians, were then resettled within the Persian Empire.

368 - EIWAN-I-KERKHA (4th CENT.)



369 - SANTA MARIA D'AMER (10th CENT.)

370 - SAINT-MARTIN-DU-CANIGOU (11th CENT.)

There they enjoyed freedom of worship and built Christian churches for their own use. While remaining faithful to Syrian traditions, they also borrowed freely from local models.

So long as the Roman Empire worshipped its pagan gods, the Christians of Iran remained unmolested. But the situation changed when Christianity became the official religion of the West. Then the Christian subjects of the King of Kings raised not only a problem but a political issue, for they were particularly numerous in the disputed border provinces between Persia and Rome and now naturally turned to the powerful State where theirs was the national faith. Thus Armenia, converted to Christianity as early as the second century, was looked upon with mistrust by the Sassanian authorities. Like Syria, it suffered intermittent waves of persecution throughout the fourth and fifth centuries.

The Armenian Christians are known to have built many churches. Their art, while owing much to the arts of Syria, Anatolia and Persia, developed in time a style of its own. It is now believed to have transmitted Oriental traditions to the West and thus contributed, until fairly late times, to the development of Byzantine and Romanesque forms.

The synod held at Seleucia in the reign of the Sassanian king Valash (496-499) placed Iranian Christians under the jurisdiction of the Nestorian Church. Still extant on the island of Kharg, in western Iran, are vestiges of religious and funerary monuments erected from the third to the seventh century by a large community of Nestorian monks. The monastery church, with its nave and

side-aisles, its domed choir and stucco decorations, keeps to the structural principles and decorative techniques of Sassanian architecture of the fifth and sixth centuries.

A study of the monuments erected by these Eastern Christian communities incorporated in the Persian Empire lies outside the scope of this book. That there is much to be learned from them is now fully recognized by scholars; but what we are here concerned with is an evaluation of the role of Sassanian art in this complex of interpenetrating influences.

The outstanding creation of Sassanian architecture is a palace of intricate design in which cupolas and parallel barrel vaults serve to combine the reception rooms and the private apartments (always kept separate in Achaemenian architecture) into an harmonious whole. That these palaces should have aroused the admiration of neighbouring lands (Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor) was only natural, and their architects took them as models when they developed their own form of basilica, a massive, ill-lighted building whose three naves were roofed with contiguous barrel vaults and buttressed against each other.

From the fifth to the eleventh century this type of church proliferated along the shores of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, as far west as Spain. Tenth-century churches are still standing today in Catalonia (Santa Maria d'Amer, Santa Cecilia de Montserrat, Saint-Martin du Canigou) whose smooth, continuous barrel vaults recall the ancient vaults of the Sassanian palaces.

The prototype of the transversal barrel vaults thrown over the nave (St Philibert of Tournus) seems to be the palace of Eiwan-i-Kerkha, a Sassanian city founded by Shapur II (309-379). It should be noted that in the Hauran, in Syria, the system of transversal arches is applied in certain churches which, as early as the third century, were roofed with stone slabs supported by ceiling beams. It was these churches that provided the transition from the timber-roofed basilica to the vaulted, longitudinal edifice of Mesopotamian and Iranian origin.

We have seen that the Sassanians, in order to widen the main domed hall of their palaces, took to adding side-aisles roofed with half-cupolas that were supported by columns placed at a certain distance from the walls. This technique, illustrated at Sarvistan, presumably gave rise to the idea of combining the cupola with the basilical plan. The idea was first exploited in Asia Minor, but the sequence of successive experiments that later reached fruition in Western Romanesque architecture can most clearly be seen and followed in Byzantine provincial edifices.

The cruciform plan, with a central cupola, of the large audience hall in Palace A at Bishapur provides an invaluable point of reference in this medley of Mesopotamian, Syrian and Persian prototypes. Was the success of this geometric design due to the symbolism attaching to the cross? Wherever it exerted its influence, it was supplemented with reminiscences of the architecture of several different periods.

371 - GERMIGNY-DES-PRÉS (9th-10th CENT.) IN 1841

372 - GERMIGNY-DES-PRÉS. MOSAIC PALMETTES (9th-10th CENT.)

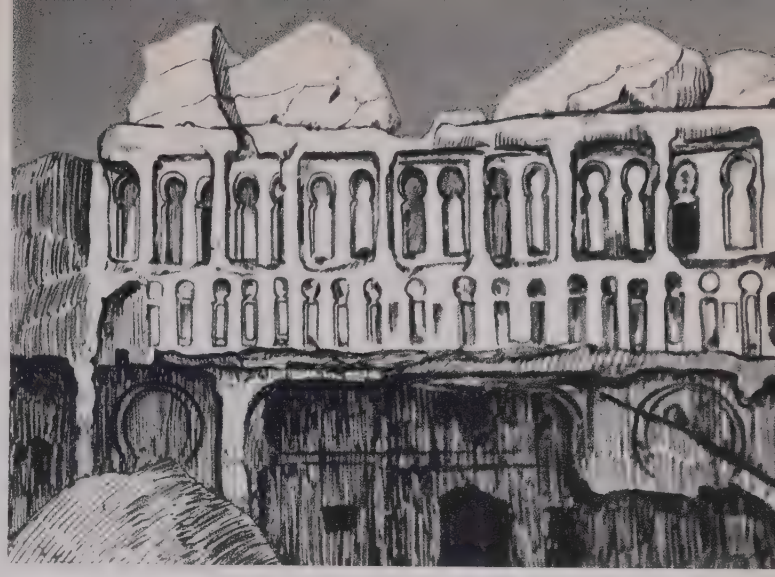
At Germigny-des-Prés in central France, for example, the oratory of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans (799-818), combines certain features of Sassanian monuments with others derived from the old Oriental churches, compact in plan, which had been adopted in Armenia in the course of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries (cathedral of Echmiadzin, 611-628). But the main apse of the oratory is shaped like a horseshoe, and this form is typical of Mozarabic Spain, where Theodulf was born. He may well have copied other features of the churches of his native country, where Oriental borrowings were numerous. Vestiges of the stucco-work and the plant designs in mosaic which adorned the east apse in the ninth century seem to indicate that these motifs, familiar to us through Sassanian art, may well have come to Germigny by way of Umayyad Spain.

An analysis of actual building methods shows the influence of Sassanian Iran to be even stronger in architecture than in decoration. Unlike the Achaemenians, who depended on the lintel, the Sassanians employed the arch, whose corbelling and various shapes (ellipsoidal, stilted, intersecting) were transmitted both to the Christian West and to the Islamized East.

The cupola, resting on corner squinches, rapidly came into general use. The Persian architects made use of the squinch when they sought to effect the transition from the square plan of a base to the circle of a dome. At first they merely extended the dihedral angles of the ground rectangle into the cupola, but they were gradually led to give the squinch the volume of a quarter-cone or a quarter-sphere. Here they broke new ground and by the fourth century this structural device was being imitated in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Egypt. From the Syrian cities it found its way to the Ravenna exarchate and thence to Byzantium where, from the tenth century on, as it came in contact with Transcaucasian and Moslem art forms, it was embodied in a new sequence of architectural experiments whose outcome was Romanesque.

The Sassanian outer wall was always sturdily built. Made of bricks in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, of rubble set in lime mortar in the Persian area, it served as a buttress against the thrust of the vaults, and it did much to further the diffusion of architectonic elements (projecting members, arcades and recesses) serving to adorn façades.

These decorative elements were widely adopted and Puig i Cadafalch has studied their evolution in the many countries where they flourished. They derived from the *lesenes,* pilaster-like wall strips with a stepped cross-section, which had patterned the walls of Asiatic buildings from the earliest times. The junction of the upper parts of these strips, each rounded off to join the one beside it, gave rise to the arcade. (This was the exterior decoration employed at Firuzabad.) Gradually the *lesenes* ceased to extend to the full height of the wall and were cut short just below the blind arches. Here we have the origin of the so-called *bandes lombardes* (pilaster strips) characteristic of early Romanesque church architecture in Italy, Germany, Dalmatia and Spain. Elsewhere we find arcades resting on twin columns, and their continuous superposition resulted in a series of blind arches and niches, as in the façade of the Sassanian palace at Ctesiphon. This façade was faithfully copied in the pre-Islamic period, though on a smaller scale, in the gate of the citadel of Amman, and the façades of some of the rock-hewn churches of Cappadocia may derive from it.



373 - CAPPADOCIA. FAÇADE OF ROCK-HEWN CHURCH AT ATCHYK SERAI (10th-11th CENTURIES)

374 - CATALONIA. APSE OF SAN PEDRO DEL BURGAL (9th-10th CENTURIES)

375 - CTESIPHON. ARCH (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

376 - TAQ-I-BUSTAN. CAPITAL (6th-7th CENTURIES A.D.)

The sides of the great parabolic vault in the palace at Ctesiphon are also patterned with rows of recessed arches. At Taq-i-Bustan the same theme figures on a capital whose abacus is adorned with conch-shaped niches upheld by paired columns. This innovation in Persian ornamentation points to a long series of metamorphoses of Hellenistic elements, accompanying the transformation of horizontal lines into curves. The influence of India moreover, so apparent in Egyptian monuments from the end of the second century B.C., played a part in the genesis of the conchoidal lay-out common to Hellenistic and Persian niches. Besides revealing the ties uniting all the arts of the East, this influence confirms the Asiatic origin of this architectonic motif, so persistently employed in Syrian and Byzantine monuments from the fourth to the sixth century. It is interesting to find that in the West, whither it was transmitted by way of Milan, the decorative niche imitated not the contemporary Byzantine type, but the ancient types of Syria and Persia.

In the Palace of Diocletian at Spalato, built in the early fourth century by architects from the East, we find these 'Baroque' forms making their first appearance in the West. Before long they had spread to Gaul. The typical example is the church of Saint-Pierre at Vienne (Isère): the windows on the first storey and the arcades of the ground floor, dating to the fifth century, are framed by purely decorative colonnettes. This antinomy between construction and decoration is equally evident in the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna, an Arian city open to Oriental influences. In his study of the oldest basilicas

377 - VIENNE (ISÈRE). CHURCH OF SAINT-PIERRE (5th CENTURY)

378 - SPALATO (SPLIT). GOLDEN GATE (4th CENTURY)

of Gaul, Emile Mâle emphasized the prestige accorded to the arts of Iran in the Rhone Valley, a region converted to Christianity by Greeks hailing from Asia. There were also many Syrians in Gaul and their presence no doubt accounts for the Oriental character of some very early churches still extant in Provence and in the neighbouring regions (e.g. Saint-Julien-le-Vieux at Miramas).

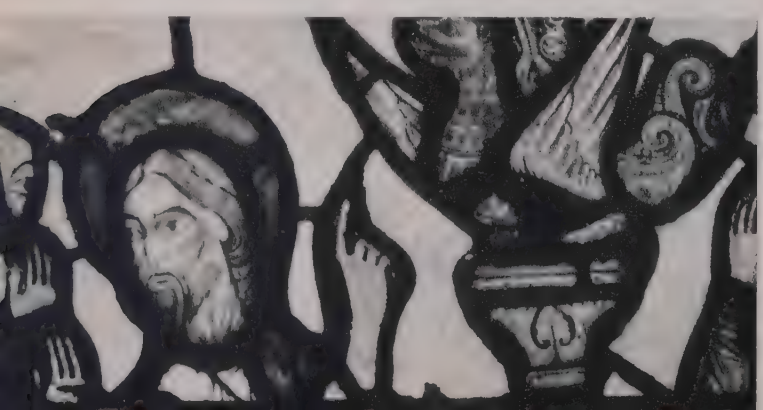
To understand the diffusion of these architectonic elements, and of all the motifs deriving from brick buildings (saw-tooth and zigzag patterns), we have to take into account that deliberate archaism and that devotion to the past which the Persian Empire, heir of civilizations thousands of years old, transmitted to many lands of Asia, Europe and Africa. The tendency to hark back to archaic forms that prevailed in Byzantine, Islamic, Romanesque and Moldavian architecture from the ninth to the sixteenth century was due to the lack of any considered amelioration of building methods. Architects relied on the tried and tested procedures of the past and thus the old forms were preserved unchanged.

In the third century A.D., when the Sassanian period began, two schools of plastic art were paramount in Christendom. One held sway in the great Greek cities of the Near East (Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus) and bore the stamp of the Hellenic spirit. The other, originating in Jerusalem and the Syrian centres, propagated a narrative art based on the Old Testament and the Gospels, but always in terms of the age-old imagery of Asia.

379 - NAQSH-I-RUSTAM. TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I, DETAIL (A.D. 250)

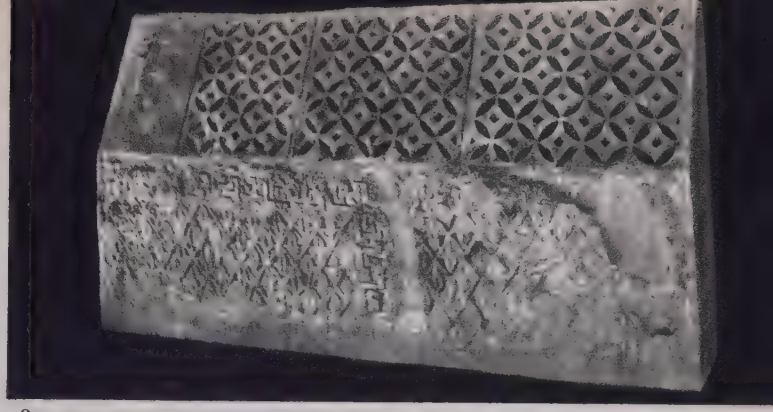
380 - VICQ (INDRE). JOURNEY OF THE MAGI, DETAIL (12th CENTURY)

381 - SAINT-OMER. CROSS OF ST BERTIN, DETAIL (12th CENTURY)



It would seem that the early Christians invented the iconographic theme of the 'Adoration of the Magi' to symbolize the triumph of Christ over Mithras. They made it clear that the 'wise men of the East' came from Persia by portraying them in the Persian costume—the Phrygian cap and *anaxyrides*. The gesture of respect (raised hand with pointing forefinger) made by Ardashir I before Ahuramazda on the Naqsh-i-Rustam relief and by the Sassanian noblemen before Shapur I on the Bishapur bas-relief is repeated by the Magi riding towards Bethlehem on the fresco in the church of Vicq (Indre), in central France. It recurs in the scene of 'Moses before the Brazen Serpent' on the Cross of Saint-Bertin (Museum of Saint-Omer) and on the medallion of a stained-glass window at Saint-Denis. Elsewhere the Magi are shown concealing their hands under their cloaks in token of respect, following an ancient Persian custom already current at the Achaemenian court (gate of Moissac, Gospel Book of Echmiadzin, ivories in the British Museum and the Crawford Collection, Manchester). Traces of Mithraic influence are no less evident in other New Testament scenes. The Messiah is often likened to the sun; the date of Christ's Nativity accordingly corresponds not only with that of the winter solstice and the annual 'rebirth' of the sun, but with the festival of the sun god. No less curious are the analogies between the Mithraic communion and the Eucharist, and between the ascension of Mithras and that of Christ.

382 - SAINT-DENIS. STAINED-GLASS MEDALLION WITH MOSES, DETAIL (12th CENTURY)



383 - JOUARRE. SARCOPHAGUS OF ST AGILBERTA (A.D. 665)

Bernheimer has rightly pointed out the borrowings from Persian art in the stucco decoration of the sarcophagus of the Abbess St Agilberta (died in 665), preserved in the crypt of the church of Jouarre (Seine-et-Marne). The compartments composed of four-petalled leaves and series of lozenges with fleurs-de-lis (a debased imitation of the palmette) confronted tip to tip, derive from various types of repeat ornaments used in Sassanian and Islamic stucco-work at Ctesiphon, Damghan and Samarra. The technique also keeps to Oriental practices: we find the same flat design, the same deliberate contrast between motif and interstice, the same effects of solid forms telling out on a dark ground. Other works might be cited whose decorative elements stem form the East; north and central France, and even Provence and the Rhone Valley offer a number of examples, whose ornamentation however is more hastily designed and less adroitly executed.

The 'Hand of God' was the first theme of Early Christian art to meet with strong opposition. On the strength of the commandment not to make 'the likeness of anything that is in heaven above,' the early theologians prohibited its representation. It also led to discussions on the true nature of Christ and in the result the 'Hand' was related to the second person of the Trinity, the Logos, consubstantial with the Father. It occupied the central cupola, which, in Arsacid and Sassanian palaces, was a symbol of the Cosmos. In the controversy relating to this iconographic theme we see a theological doctrine of the early Church gradually taking shape. The Fathers were well aware that symbolic representations had an insufficient appeal for the popular imagination, and saw the advantages of representing Christ in human form. They therefore combated the Monophysite doctrine that Christ, being God, had only one nature (*physis*) and that his seeming manhood was a mere appearance.

In the reign of Peroz (457-484) the Christian communities of the Persian Empire suffered from the repercussions of these theological disputes. The controversy raged above all in the School of Edessa where Nestorians and Monophysites came into open conflict. And it was at Edessa, the 'Rome' of Persian converts to Christianity and a centre for the religious instruction of neophytes, that the legend of one of the three 'acheiropoietic' images of Christ was promulgated in order to substantiate the apostolic origin of the church in that city. The *Golden Legend* tells the story as follows. Abgar, King of Edessa, sent a painter to Jerusalem to make a portrait of Jesus, but the Saviour's face shone so radiantly that the artist was powerless to convey its light with his brush. So Jesus covered His face with His mantle; when it was lifted it bore the imprint of the Holy Face. The cloth with the miraculous imprint was

384 - NEREDITSA. HOLY FACE OF SPAS-NEREDITSA (12th CENTURY)

385 - SAQQARA. VIRGIN AND CHILD (7th CENTURY)

brought to Abgar after the death of Christ by the Apostles Simon and Judas Thaddaeus. Such is the legend. Actually the first recorded mention of the 'Mandylion of Edessa' only goes back to the sixth century: in 544, when the city was being besieged by the Persians, it was fastened to the main gate and saved the city thanks to its supernatural power.

It represented only the face, with no indication of neck or shoulders, but with long curly locks of hair on either side, which rules out the possibility of an imprint. Perhaps the Mandylion derived from the human face 'cut short at the chin,' which we regard as one of the most characteristic themes of Iranian iconography. This image, as adopted by the Christians of Iran (who were Nestorians), would then have gone to constitute the third of the three 'faces of Christ' (the first having been conceived by the Greeks as that of an adolescent of irresistible charm, the second by the Syrians as that of a man of mature years with the features of their race). So here we have a sacred image associated with the ancient iconology of Persia that retained for over fifteen centuries the apotropaeic virtues originally ascribed to it. The Mandylion remained at Edessa until 944; then it was taken to Constantinople and there became a hallowed symbol of the Eastern Church.

And have we not another instance of the survival of that age-old theme, the 'Sialk mask,' in one of the frescoes of the monastery of St Jeremias, founded about 470, at Saqqara in Egypt? Under the double arch of a niche with a painting of the Virgin suckling the Infant Jesus, figures a row of human faces (without the neck) and a row of demi-palmettes, distinctly Sassanian in aspect. Thus Iran, we may well surmise, had an influence on Coptic religious art.

386 - (A) ORNAMENTAL INITIAL (B) FIBULA (C) ACHAEMENIAN EAR-RING

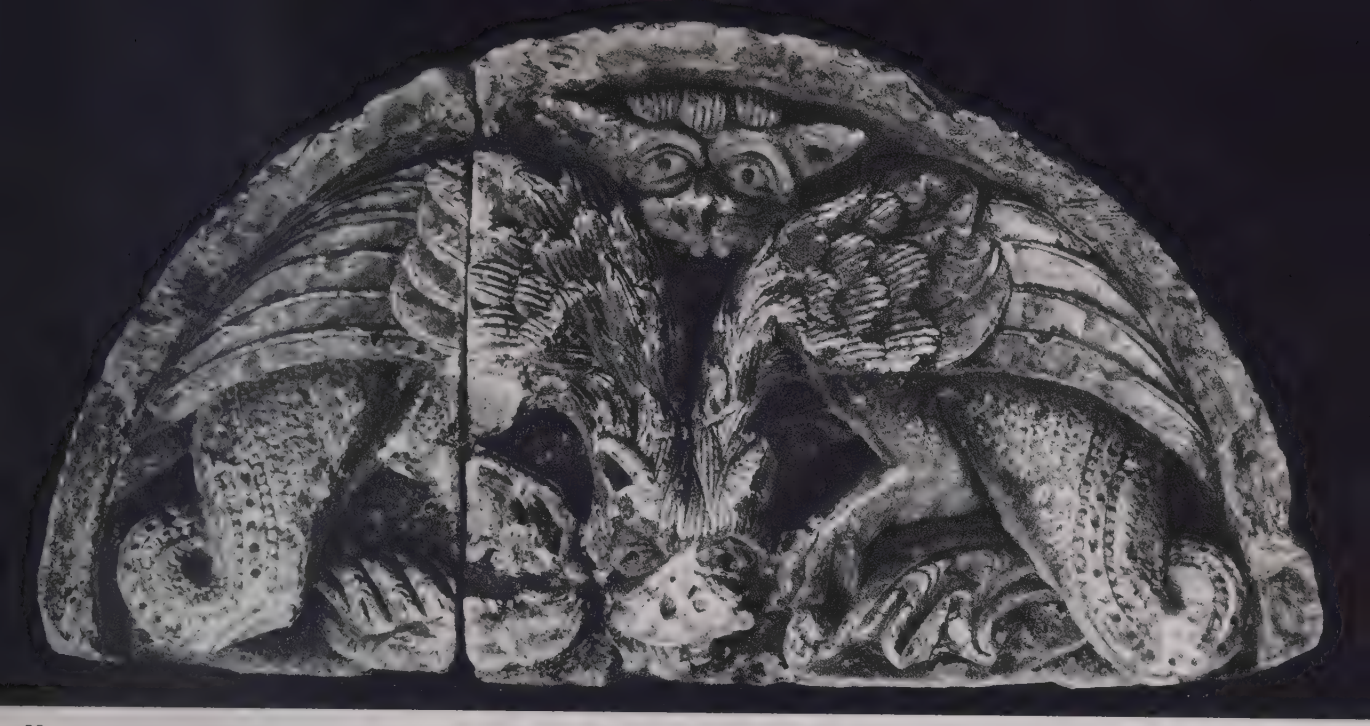
387 - ANGERS, SAINT-AUBIN. ARCHIVOLT (12th CENTURY)

Bernard Teyssèdre has recently discussed the theme of the human face in eighth-century Frankish manuscripts in a study centring on the Gellone Sacramentary. Among the problems dealt with in this scholarly work is that of the origin of the human face as employed in ornamental initials. A miniature in the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel (MS 99, folio 43 v.) shows a 'mask' imposed on a decorative design in which Teyssèdre sees the influence of the radiating fibula of Pontico-Danubian origin (Linon, Puy-de-Dôme, seventh century). Actually this design is much closer to that of a certain type of ear-ring of the Achaemenian period. Since we know that the Scythians of South Russia appreciated the work of the Persian goldsmiths, the possible consequences of this penchant among the Iranian peoples of South Russia must also be allowed for. Nourished on eastern forms and formulas going back to very early times, their art underwent a revival in the sixth century, at the very time when they were entering into closer relations with Persia (during the reigns of Chosroes I and II). Viewed from this angle, the appearance in book illumination of the human face 'cut short at the chin,' framed in a circular design, seems to point to a model derived from the arts of metal-working and to a source representing a cross between Iranian and European 'barbaric' strains. In a Eugippius manuscript long preserved in Strasbourg (now Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS lat. 2110) the decorative design derives from Near-Eastern Christian art tinged with Arab-Sassanian influences. The rendering of a face in a truncated lozenge on a disk-shaped ground imitates the 'cloisonné' technique of figural representation practised by the Sassanians from the sixth century on.

Thus the study of the faces built into initial letters in early mediaeval manuscripts is of special interest for art historians. Merovingian illuminators transmitted to Romanesque decorative sculpture the motif of those 'flat heads' whose origin lies so far back in time. We sometimes find fantastic human faces with long beards following the curve of the torus in an archivolt, for example in the Abbey of Saint-Aubin at Angers and in the nave of the cathedral of Bayeux. Similar heads are sometimes inset in deeply grooved mouldings, as in the church portal at Parçay-sur-Vienne (Indre-et-Loire); and also in the bends of arches in Norman churches in England, at Edlington, for example.

The Romanesque bestiary was largely a revival of iconographic themes and styles that had taken form in Western Asia long before. Since the end of the nineteenth century scholars have been studying its origins and tracing the stages of its development. Year by year new discoveries made in this field compel us to revise previously held opinions. But there is now no question that in the transmission of motifs from Sumer to mediaeval Europe the Luristan bronzes and related works of Scytho-Sarmatian art played a leading role, and that the animal themes and the devices of 'zoomorphic juncture' that recurred so persistently for two millennia in the art of the Ancient East provided an inexhaustible fund of inspiration for the orientalizing and Eurasian arts which found so fruitful a field of action in the West. But how are we to explain their introduction into Europe and their exploitation by Romanesque artists? For this, we must take into consideration the part played by intermediaries, among whom Sassanian Persia was, it seems, of prime importance.

The creation of centres of hand-loom weaving in south-western Iran by Shapur II led to a rapid development of the Sassanian textile industry. These Persian fabrics were exported from the fifth century on, and widely disseminated throughout the West. But imported textiles do not suffice to account for the intimate, highly complex relationship between Sassanian and Romanesque art. Easily transportable objects of art help to fill certain gaps, and whilst textiles served chiefly to enrich the thematic repertory, jewellery, vases, plaques and intaglios ensured the transmission of Persian decorative designs. Sassanian Iran, moreover, fertilized the arts of the countries with which it came into direct contact, Transcaucasia and Syria for example, which lay in the area of its immediate expansion. In all the regions lying between the Black Sea and the Caspian, at the very time when Romanesque art was in the making, there was a revival of the ancient Asiatic repertory of themes on which Cimmerian and Scythian Iran had left so strong an imprint. As Henri Focillon has aptly observed, Sassanian art here intervened not as 'a new factor,' but as 'representative of the oldest and most durable of past achievements.' It had inherited the naturalism of Achaemenian Persia and welcomed Hellenism, but 'it was also a brilliant interpreter of the symmetrical designs and mathematical figurations of ornamental art.' It accordingly



388 - BEAUVAIS. CHURCH OF SAINT-GILLES. TWO MONSTERS WITH ONE HEAD (12th CENTURY) — BEAUVAIS MUSEUM

encouraged all efforts tending to reconcile realism with purely decorative fantasy and predisposed the art of these countries (Georgia, Armenia and Daghestan) to assimilate the abstract patterns of Islam.

So much for the general background, which will be better understood in the light of a few examples. One of the most typical is the theme of two animals with one head, which makes its appearance in Iran with the Luristan bronzes. It reappears in the tympanum of the church of Saint-Gilles, Beauvais (now transferred to the local museum). We may well wonder whether a transcription like this may not be the fruit of some 'preliminary experiment' on a monumental scale. Jurgis Baltrusaitis has drawn attention to the fact that architectural sculpture was being practised in Transcaucasia at the very time when the West had all but forgotten the art of large-scale sculpture in stone.

Examining the tympanum of Saint-Gilles, one is struck by the way the sculptor reshaped the ancient Iranian motif to fit the setting that was imposed on him. Bent on filling the entire surface, he amplified the ornamental design of two animals symmetrically confronted on either side of a median line. Volumes are distributed with punctilious regularity, the centre of the composition being marked by the head of the double-bodied animal and the feline mask above it, at the apex of the tympanum. Adjusted to the semicircle of the tympanum, the animal's necks, spines and tails combine to form a curvilinear rhythm closely adjusted to the sinuous foliation of a 'rinceau.' We find the same leaf-scroll patterning and the same concern to adjust contours of bodies to the shape of the surface available to the sculptor in a whole series of Caucasian tympana.

389 - KARZH. RINCEAUX DECORATING THE TYMPANUM (11th CENTURY)

390 - GOSPEL BOOK OF HAHPAT. FRONTISPIECE (11th CENTURY) — ERIVAN

Thus two 'rinceaux' made up of two incurvated human bodies grouped around the central axis are basic to the compositional schema of the tympanum at Karzh (Georgia), dating to the eleventh century, which has some resemblance to the one at Pont-l'Abbé (Charente-Maritime). The tympanum with confronted animals at Kubachi (Daghestan) recalls the one at Marigny (Calvados). The tympanum of a house-window, again at Kubachi, is reproduced at Charney Basset in England. Finally, the composition of a group of Western tympana (at Wordwell, Knook, and Saint-Etienne of Beauvais) has every appearance of deriving from an Armenian miniature in the eleventh-century Gospel Book of Hahpat. For the similarities between this miniature and the tympanum of Saint-Etienne of Beauvais in particular are too marked to be accidental. We find the same ornamental design in the church of Saint-Gilles at Beauvais. But the Saint-Etienne sculptor handles his forms very much in the spirit of the miniature: the two leaf-scrolls mingle with the curves of the animals confronted on either side of the central ornament; the relief stands out sharply against the dark ground, and the sculptor is clearly trying to keep to the same range of values as those of the Armenian illuminator.

We find many more such similarities when we turn to the friezes and capitals covered with reliefs not only in Armenia but also in Georgia and Daghestan, ranging from the seventh to the eleventh century. The combinations of intertwining leaf-scrolls

391 - BEAUVAIS. TYMPANUM OF THE CHURCH OF SAINT-ETIENNE. RINCEAUX AND CONFRONTED ANIMALS (12th CENTURY)

392 - OSHK. ANIMAL PASSANT (10th CENT.) 393 - MARTVILI. SIMURGH (10th CENT.) 394 - KUBACHI. ANIMAL (12th CENT.)

and palmettes which break up or recombine the age-old prototypes transmitted by Sassanian art (e.g. castle of Meteh at Tiflis and cathedral of Kutais), and the themes of single animals (the *simurgh* in the relief of the west apse at Martvili) and animals passant (reliefs in the north aisle at Habul), addorsed or confronted (Kubachi), are all of Asiatic origin and stock themes of Persian art.

One animal pursuing another, often transformed into a scene of animals fighting, is a Sassanian motif which came into general use in widely distant lands at opposite points of the compass (Oshk in Georgia, Ghazni in Afghanistan, Pavia in Italy, Silos in Spain, Limoges in France). The confronted horsemen figuring in investiture scenes on Persian monuments are also found in Transcaucasia. Those at Kubachi (Daghestan) are singularly like the horsemen on the lintel of the cathedral of Angoulême. Another widespread theme has its prototype at Taq-i-Bustan: that of the goddess Anahita raising her arms as if to support the abacus of the capital on which she figures. Not only does it reappear in many Armenian and Georgian reliefs (e.g. a fifth- or sixth-century tombstone at Adiaman, in Armenia), but also in many Romanesque churches: Semur-en-Brionnais, Saint-Papoul (Hérault), Saint-Paul-lès-Dax and Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire among others. Inserted between two confronted lions, the same figure represents Daniel in the lions' den. Under various forms it spread from Transcaucasia to the West. The type found at Harich (fifth or sixth century) is repeated on a capital in the cloister of Saint-Lizier (Ariège); it represents a transition from the pagan pedestal of the god of Carchemish to a capital at Arles.

395 - TAQ-I-BUSTAN. CAPITAL (6th-7th c.) 396 - HARICH. FUNERARY STELE (5th-6th c.) 397 - SAINT-LIZIER. CAPITAL (12th c.)

398 - IRAQ. MOSLEM BROCADE. MOTIF DERIVED FROM TWO-HEADED EAGLE (C. 1200) — BERLIN MUSEUM

As regards themes, style and technique, all these Transcaucasian monuments (which by no means exhaust the subject) owe much to the art of Sassanian Iran in particular and to that of the Ancient Near East in general. But mostly it was by way of the transference of ornamental techniques and designs on to an architectural surface that their transmission to Romanesque Europe was effected. The arts of the Caucasus presumably played a large part in the propagation and revival of Sassanian forms, which themselves embodied even older forms. We are in entire accord with the opinion of Jurgis Baltrusaitis, who gives them credit for 'the first systematic attempt at applying ornamental designs to large-scale sculpture.'

However widespread was this new development of monumental sculpture, there is no denying that its field of influence was somewhat limited. For it was above all the luxury arts of the East that caught the attention of Westerners, and these were diffused largely by Copts, Syrians, Arabs, barbaric peoples and the Byzantines, all of whom had been in close contact with the Sassanians.

399 - SORRENTO. CONFRONTED GRIFFINS AND SACRED TREE (10th-11th CENTURIES) — SORRENTO MUSEUM

On a capital of the church of Vignory (Haute-Marne) two horses, aureoled by a semicircle of three festoons, stand on either side of a stem adorned with floral ornaments. A textile of Sassanian inspiration from Antinoe, Egypt, shows the same aureole above two identical horses, confronted. Here we have a case of direct imitation: of a motif created on the Iranian Plateau and adopted in the Nile valley being copied by a Romanesque sculptor.

The history of the two-headed eagle is no less curious. Transmitted from Hittite to Sassanian art (where it was shaped to match the palmette), this numinous image reappears not only in Byzantine work (textiles in the treasure of Sens Cathedral, ninth and tenth centuries, and in St Peter's, Salzburg, eleventh and twelfth centuries), but also in Moslem art (brocades in the museums of Siegburg and Berlin) and Romanesque (abacus of a capital in the Moissac cloister, upright of the church portal at Civray and capital in the church at Saint-Maurice, both in the Vienne department, France).

The figure of a mermaid was transmitted by Iranian or barbarian intermediaries from the Luristan bronzes to a capital of the Moissac portal and a relief in Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers. The sculptured marble panels in the old cathedral of Sorrento (tenth and eleventh centuries) have marked affinities with Sassanian textiles and silverware. Here we find the same winged horse in a medallion, the same griffins confronted beside a sacred tree, whose heraldic pose and heart-shaped tail-tips derive beyond all doubt from a Persian model.

400 - SORRENTO. WINGED HORSE IN A MEDALLION (10th-11th CENTURIES) — SORRENTO MUSEUM

401 - CUP OF CHOSROES I (6th CENTURY A.D.) — BIBL. NAT.

402 - COPTIC IVORY. KING ENTHRONED (7th CENTURY A.D.) — BALTIMORE

But it is even more interesting to follow the fortunes of the image of the King of Kings, regarded in the Ancient East as an emanation of God on earth. Reproduced on a host of works, from intaglios and coins to the great rock reliefs, it seems to have had a special attraction for foreign artists. As copied by a Coptic ivory-carver who no longer understood the details of the costume and the monarch's crown, it is but a feeble echo of the original model. In the form, however, in which it appears on the cup of Chosroes, it entered into the rendering of the Christian theme of Christ in Majesty, enthroned in a strictly frontal position in the tympana of French Romanesque churches.

On Sassanian objects carved in rock crystal, the winged and addorsed quadrupeds supporting the royal throne seem to emanate from the central figure of the king. These became the ox and lion of the Apocalypse; only the figures of the eagle and the man had to be added in the upper part of

403 - MOISSAC. TYMPANUM. CHRIST IN MAJESTY (12th CENTURY)

the Romanesque relief to complete its iconography (tympanum of Moissac).

The theme of Christ Pantocrator surrounded by the heavenly hosts, as created by Byzantine artists, was modelled on the image of the King of Kings surrounded by his court dignitaries. Indeed, as Franz Cumont has aptly pointed out, the theme of enthronement in the Christian tradition has its prototype in the depiction of the king in the aulic art of Persia.

Similarly, the dualistic conception of a world in which angels and devils wage war on each other is of Mazdaean origin. Satan, like Ahriman, is committed to the struggle against the spirit of good. But he is no match for God Himself, who by definition is invulnerable—thus correcting and attenuating the Iranian dualism. It must, however, be pointed out, that if the Judaeo-Christian religion took its devils and angels from Persia, the forms embodying them owe more to Greek and Greco-Roman art than to Sassanian.

Sassanian textiles inspired not only sculptors but also mosaicists, as was but natural, for after all the mosaic pavement had exactly the same function as the Oriental rug. And so at Antioch, the great Syro-Roman centre of textile manufacture, we find mosaic pavements on secular themes imitating the silk and woollen fabrics woven there in the fifth century and exported to near-by Persia. Their hunting scenes are renderings of the stock episodes of Persian folklore. A sprinkling of flowerets [common to several mosaics of this group] on the field, between the animal or figure subjects, adds much to the charm of this decorative art. In the borders, rams' heads emerge from outspread wings and a row of beribboned birds between parallel bands runs in the opposite direction.

The 'lion passant' on an undulating ground line is also of Persian origin; the ribbon round its neck, with the ends hanging loose, is a whimsical motif taken directly from Sassanian art. By far the most popular motif in this group of works, the lion might be said to symbolize the exchanges that took place at this period. As an isolated element or a central figure combined with birds dappling the background, it is found not only at Antioch but throughout Syria and in Palestine.

No less characteristic is the pavement of beribboned birds arranged diagonally, so as to impart a geometric aspect to the composition. In this lay-out the field repeats the border design surrounding the hunting mosaic in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, Washington.

404 - SASSANIAN SILVER. CROSSED LIONS AND TREE OF LIFE (6th-7th CENTURIES) — BIBL. NATIONALE

Probably religious scruples—a natural reluctance to tread on sacred symbols—account for the retention of these 'pagan' mosaic pavements in Christian churches and baptisteries. The surviving vestiges of pavements in Merovingian churches in France do not invalidate this view. The fragments of a pavement in the church of Saint-Genès at Thiers, made about the year 375 to the order of St Avitus, Bishop of Clermont, show that the influence of Oriental textiles was making itself felt in Gaul at a very early date. They represent animals in roundels and the lion, among others, is treated in exactly the Persian manner. His mane is braided, his tail ends in a spear-shaped leaf, and on his haunch is the star with which animals intended for the Great King's menagerie were branded. The question of the periods in which the mosaics at Sorde (Landes) and at Lescar (Basses-Pyrénées) were executed has given rise to much discussion. Certain pieces may go back to Merovingian times; such, in the opinion of Emile Mâle, is the case with the panel of interlocking circles enclosing symmetrical animals (at Sorde) and the ibex attacked by a lion, with a lone eagle in the background (at Lescar). Both at Sorde and Lescar he identified motifs frequently employed in Sassanian and also in Byzantine art when imitating Persian work. A mosaic found at Ganagobie (Basses-Alpes) proves the survival into the Romanesque age of the animal motifs on Sassanian and post-Sassanian textiles, whether dispersed or framed in roundels.

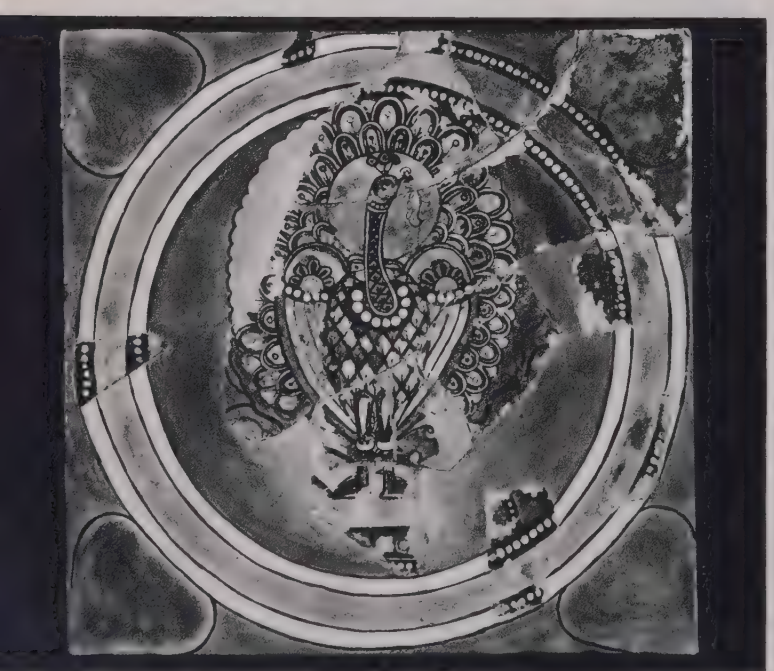
405 - ANTIOCH. RAMS AND OUTSPREAD WINGS 6th CENT. — LOUVRE

406 - ANTIOCH. BERIBBONED LION PASSANT C. A.D. 425

407 - LESCAR BASSES-PYRENEES . LION ATTACKING IBEX 12th CENT.?

408 - THIERS (PUY-DE-DOME). LION MARKED WITH A SASSANIAN STAR (4th CENTURY

409 - VENICE. PEACOCK SPREADING ITS TAIL (C. 976) — ST MARK'S



410 - CONSTANTINOPLE. PEACOCK SPREADING ITS TAIL (10th-11th C.)

These textile patterns were also used as models in the workshops of Byzantine mosaicists, and in the fifth and sixth centuries (e.g. in the secondary vaults of the church of St George at Salonica) we find these craftsmen imitating the fringed hangings whose alternating designs of birds and pairs of pinions are of unquestionably Iranian origin. But this Orientalism was more prevalent in Syria and Palestine than in Byzantium, where classical conceptions of art were solidly entrenched. Between the ninth and eleventh century, however, a strong Islamic influence makes itself felt in the introduction of several motifs of definitely Sassanian provenance into Byzantine art; witness the many glazed ceramic panels from the vicinity of Constantinople now in the Louvre.

Typical themes of these mosaics are convex or concave bandeaux patterned with rosettes, ovoli and ogees (architectonic motifs common in Sassanian stucco-work); imaginary animals alternating in a series of metopes, which must originally have formed a frieze (similar subjects figure in decorative paintings and reliefs at Ctesiphon and Samarra); a peacock in front view wearing a necklace and holding a branch in its beak. The peacock on the Louvre panels is of the same inspiration as that on the Sassanian textiles patterned with birds, whose subtle stylization conveys more than is actually represented. Chinese Turkestan offers examples closely approximating to Sassanian prototypes. One of the denizens of the Persian 'paradise,' the peacock symbolized

411 - HISPANO-MORESQUE TEXTILE. (A)PEACOCK (B)DEER (11th CENTURY) — BRITISH MUSEUM

immortal bliss for the Romans and figured in 'Resurrection' scenes of Early Christian art. On the Louvre panel it is inspired by Moslem motifs, and on some fragments of Hispano-Moresque textiles in the British Museum we find very similar versions of the theme. The 'peacock' marble plaque in St Mark's, Venice (c. 976), invites comparison with these.

12 - BYZANTINE CERAMICS. (A)ROSETTE AND PALMETTES (B)ACANTHUS LEAVES (10th-11th CENTURIES) — LOUVRE

413 - EGYPT. COPTIC TEXTILE. WOMAN AT THE WINDOW (6th CENTURY) — KANSAS CITY

When Egypt was Mohammedanized in the eighth century, the Copts had been producing fine textiles for centuries; their technical skill was recognized very early in Antiquity. But once the Persians had made good their ascendancy, the Coptic weavers came under their influence. It is by no means unusual to find Sassanian decorative patterns in their productions, tinctured with native and Byzantine elements. These patterns involve a constant use of compartments enclosing the designs; geometric and floral ornaments; hieratic animals confronted or addorsed on either side of a fire altar or a tree of life; galloping riders shooting arrows at wild animals. All these themes played a conspicuous part in Byzantine art before entering into Arab art.

What makes Coptic art a world apart is its strange, almost 'barbarian' imagery which, however, undoubtedly owed something to the art of ancient Iran. The Copts took over, for example, that ancient Oriental theme of the 'woman at the window,' which we so often find in Sassanian stucco-work. It stands out on a ground densely crowded with heads and confronted birds deriving from Iranian iconography, the general effect being one of a dream-like phantasmagoria. A vision in somewhat the same spirit, and of the same origin, figures on a contemporary textile (fifth-sixth century) in the Musée des Tissus, Lyons. But here we find a tendency towards the mechanical repetition of a single motif and the heads are echeloned in successive tiers across

414 - EGYPT. COPTIC TEXTILE (5th-6th CENTURIES) — BROOKLYN

415 - COPTIC TAPESTRY (5th-6th CENTURIES) — LYONS

the field. The effect is to lessen the suggestive power of the ensemble, tending as it does towards a more conventional and stereotyped design. Another fragment of Coptic material representing figures under arches may well be merely an adaptation of the typical monumental theme of a statue in a niche, which in turn derives from Hellenistic sculpture (e.g. sarcophagi of Sidamarra). The same theme also figures on Persian silverware, but we find it in its appropriate context in the carved ossuaries of eastern Iran. Indeed this Coptic textile may actually have been used for funerary purposes.

Coptic art has been regarded by many authorities as the paramount influence on the arts of pre-Islamic Arabia. Undoubtedly the Arabs found in Coptic textiles a stimulating illustration of their own taste for geometry and elaborate linear patterns. But Sassanian art had an even stronger appeal for them, for here was a vivid reflection of their own nomadic existence, spent for the most part in fighting and hunting. It seems only logical, then, to look for the origin of their textile designs in the regions where they first came in contact with the conquered Iranians. It was, moreover, by way of Egypt as well as Persia that the Arabs secured craftsmen and models from Mesopotamia, Syria and Byzantium. Thus it was that the Sassanian textile industry, with its age-old traditions, outlasted its own era by transmitting its designs to other lands. Nowhere were these designs more popular than in the Christian workshops

416 - SAINT-JOSSE. PERSIAN TEXTILE. CONFRONTED ELEPHANTS WITH KUFIC INSCRIPTION (10th CENTURY) — LOUVRE

of Constantinople and in the Moslem workshops of the conquered countries.

The inscriptions on these magnificent textiles often record the names of their owners, thus supplying valuable clues as to their dating. The most common design consists of tangential roundels enclosing animals and figures. Both Arabs and Byzantines were fond of the elephant theme whose prototype is to be found in the Sassanian rock carvings at Taq-i-Bustan. A particularly fine example is a beautiful Moslem silk preserved in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin, which apparently came from a Spanish church. No less interesting is a silk and cotton fabric from the church of Saint-Josse (Pas-de-Calais), now in the Louvre, with its confronted, caparisoned elephants; the borders are decorated with birds and two-humped camels. It bears a Kufic inscription in the name of Abul Nujakim, Kaid of Khorasan, who died in 901. It invites comparison with a roughly contemporary Byzantine textile in the treasure of Aachen Cathedral, which was used to wrap up some relics of Charlemagne and is inscribed with the names of Michael, grand master of the Palace of Byzantium, and Peter, governor of Negropont.

417 - CHINON. FATIMID TEXTILE. COPE OF ST MESME (10th CENTURY)

418 - PEBRAC. PERSIAN SILK. PLUVIAL (8th-10th CENTURIES)

A characteristic theme of ancient Persian art reappears on a fragment of silk in the church of La Couture at Le Mans, showing pairs of lions on a red ground, confronted on either side of a fire altar. Each of these nobly stylized animals has on its haunch the 'star-wheel' which, as noted above, acted as a kind of 'trade mark' of Iranian art.

The two spotted cheetahs chained to the sacred tree on the cope of St Mesme in the church of Saint-Etienne at Chinon, though dating to the Fatimid period (tenth century), still keep very close to Sassanian models. The same is true of the silk pluvial in the church of Pébrac (Haute-Loire), which reproduces the ancient theme of wild animals attacking onagers.

Lions in clearly marked zones, shown in profile with their heads in front view, striding forward with measured tread, figure on a large strip of purplish blue silk found in the reliquary of St Anott, archbishop of Cologne, in the Abbey of Siegburg. The design on this fabric, inscribed with the names of the emperors Romanus and Christopher, his son (921-944), is obviously inspired by the great animal friezes in glazed terracotta of Babylonian and Persian palaces.

19 - LE MANS. NOTRE-DAME DE LA COUTURE. PERSIAN SILK. CONFRONTED LIONS AND FIRE ALTARS (8th-10th CENTURIES)

420 - TROYES. BYZANTINE CASKET OF CRIMSON-TINTED IVORY (10th CENTURY) — CATHEDRAL TREASURE

Iranian influence affects to some extent the figure designs on three closely related Byzantine textiles. The oldest is an historiated silk from the Abbey of Mozac (Puy-de-Dôme), now in the Musée des Tissus, Lyons. Illustrating the hunting exploits of two kings facing each other on either side of a symbolic tree, it takes a stock Sassanian theme and readapts it to the imperial iconography of the eighth (?) century. Comparing this silk to Bishop Gunther's textile in Bamberg Cathedral (early eleventh century), André Grabar has pointed out the analogies which justify the affiliation of these two works. Moreover, in his interpretation of the theme of the Bamberg textile (a crown being offered to the emperor on horseback), Professor

421 - MOZAC. BYZANTINE SILK. CONFRONTED HORSEMEN (8th CENTURY) — MUSÉE DES TISSUS, LYONS

422 - TROYES. BYZANTINE CASKET OF CRIMSON-TINTED IVORY (10th CENTURY) — CATHEDRAL TREASURE

Grabar compares it with the reliefs on a large Byzantine ivory casket in the treasure of Troyes Cathedral. The strictly symmetrical composition of both works and certain iconographic details show how much and how long the imperial art of early mediaeval Europe underwent the influence of Sassanian Persia.

For centuries, then, after the disappearance of the Persian Empire, both the Arab workshops of Baghdad and the Greek workshops of Constantinople continued reproducing ancient Sassanian models. Indeed the textiles which were imported into mediaeval Europe from the East, and from which European artists sometimes borrowed their motifs, almost always carried designs of Persian origin.

423 - BAMBERG CATHEDRAL. BYZANTINE SILK OF BISHOP GUNTHER (EARLY 11th CENTURY)

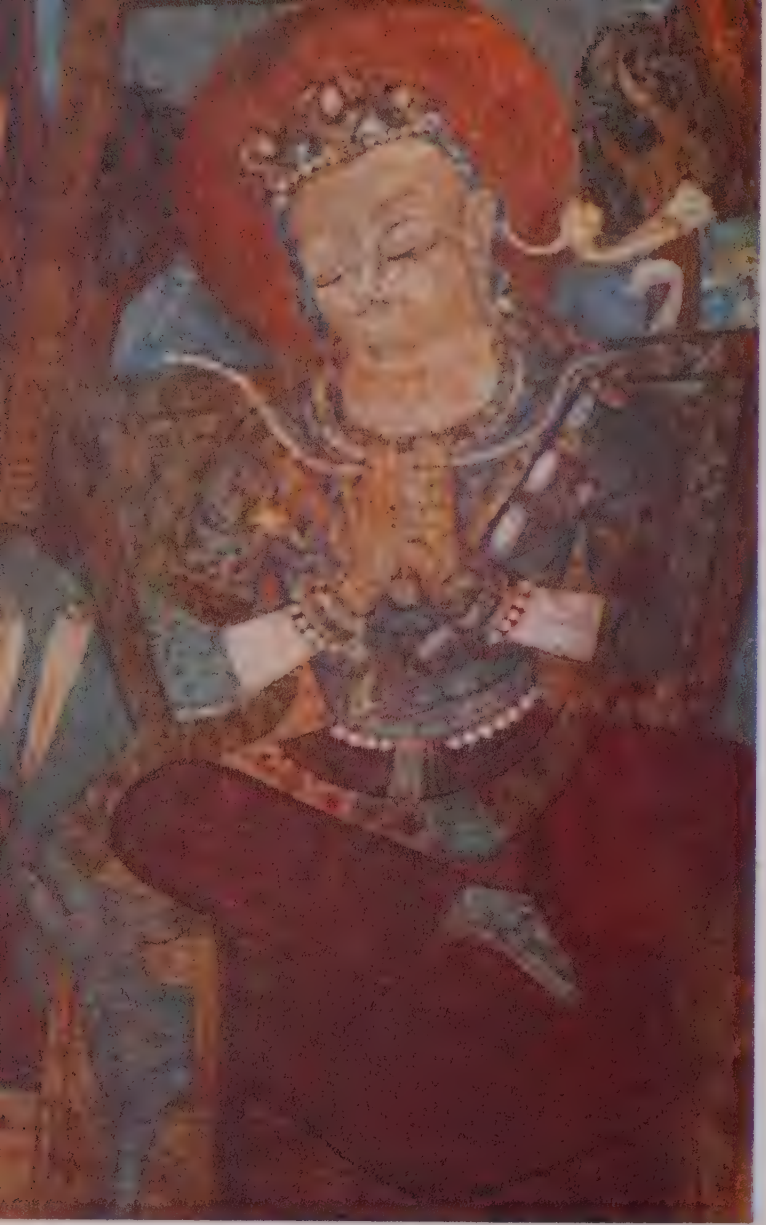
425 - BAMIYAN. CLIFF OF THE GREAT BUDDHA (3rd-6th CENTURIES)

The campaigns of Shapur I and Shapur II to the east of Iran led to the conquest of the Kushan kingdom and its annexation to the Persian Empire. The influence of Sassanian art kept pace with the enlargement of the Empire, and Kushano-Sassanian coins discovered in the Kabul valley in Afghanistan show how strong that influence had become in the reigns of the last Kushan kings. Some of these silver coins, of the so-called Napki type (fifth-sixth century), display marked iconographic analogies with the frescoes at Bamiyan and Kakrak. Ranging from the late third to the early fifth century, these frescoes belong to the art described as 'Irano-Buddhist' by J. Hackin, which in Central Asia succeeded 'Greco-Buddhist' art; it underlies the art of the Tarim oases which we shall encounter in various centres along the Silk Route.

From the first to the seventh century, Bamiyan was a Buddhist stronghold of the strict observance (Hinayana). Lying on the main line of communication between Central Asia and India, it was a relay station for caravans crossing the Hindu Kush. During the reigns of rulers well-disposed to Buddhism, such as Kanishka and his successors (second and third centuries), cave temples were cut in the rock-face of the cliffs at Bamiyan. Their decorations have been studied by the Foucher, Godard and Hackin-Carl expeditions, whose conclusions are that the influence of Sassanian Iran, which began only at the end of the third century, became paramount in the fourth and fifth.

Strictly limited at first to the painted and modelled decorations, Sassanian influence is responsible, in the ceilings of the temple of Group D, for the male heads with beards and moustaches and the stylized motifs in medallions (boars' heads, winged horses, confronted birds with necklets in their beaks). The large composition with the moon god, donors and a handsome Bodhisattva, represented at the top of the niches containing the Buddha, shows how strong was the impact of Iran on Buddhist iconography by the second half of the fourth century. Headdresses, garments and such picturesque details as fluttering ribbons patently derive from Sassanian models. In later works, of the fifth and sixth centuries, we find a local style developing, characterized by an abundance of personal ornaments and by the presence of a singular diadem with

4 - BAMIYAN. FRESCO. BODHISATTVA
(5th-6th CENTURIES) — CAVE K-3



426 - KAKRAK. THE HUNTER-KING (5th-6th CENTURIES) — KABUL MUSEUM

427 - DUKHTAR-I-NOSHERVAN. ROYAL PERSONAGE (6th-7th CENTURIES) — COPY MADE IN SITU

three crescents worn not only by the Bodhisattvas of Bamiyan but also by members of the royal family figuring on the coins from Ghazni (of the Napki type) and in the wall painting at Kakrak, not far from Bamiyan.

The painting in an enormous niche hewn in the rock-face at Dukhtar-i-Noshervan, some eighty miles north of Bamiyan, marks the extreme point of penetration of Sassanian influence. In the representation here of a Sassanian prince royal, governor of Bactria, we have a fairly close copy of the portrait of Chosroes I incised in rock crystal on the gold cup in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. The figure of the prince occupies the central point of a setting that seems to imitate the painted architecture surrounding the very fine Bodhisattva at Bamiyan. Beyond the intermittent pediments and the figures placed between their sloping sides, we see animals (stags, ibexes, moufflons, gazelles) akin to those on the Taq-i-Bustan reliefs. Here we have the vestiges of an official commission carried out by the local artists of Bamiyan and testifying yet once again to the friendly concourse of two great civilizations.

It was this Irano-Buddhist culture, stemming from Bamiyan, that was transplanted by missionaries, following in the footsteps of the famous Kumarajiva (344-413), to the oases of the Tarim, from Kashgar to Turfan by way of Kucha. Kashgar and Kucha were illustrious centres of an Iranicized Indian civilization. In studying the frescoes at Kizil, a little to the west of Kucha, J. Hackin discerned

28 - KIZIL. WALL PAINTING. SCENES OF ARISTOCRATIC LIFE AT KUCHA (5th-7th CENTURIES) — CAVE OF THE PAINTER

two successive styles. The first, characterized by accurate modelling and a discreet palette, is datable to about 450-650. Although Indian influences predominate, traces of Sassanian elements can also be detected, notably in the so-called 'Cave of the Peacocks' and 'Cave of the Painter.' The influence of Sassanian art on the formation of the second style (650-750), however, was paramount; witness the fluttering bandeaux, various details of costume and a tendency towards symmetrical composition. Brighter colours now make their appearance, but modelling gradually disappears. Processions of donors, men and women, give us glimpses of the aristocratic society of Kucha,

430 - FUNDUKISTAN. PRINCELY COUPLE (6th-7th CENTURIES) — KABUL MUSEUM

whose elegance and refinement are frankly Persian, and the depictions of the local knighthood bring to mind both the Sassanian cavalry and the Sarmatian horsemen in the frescoes at Kerch (Panticapaeum) in the Crimea.

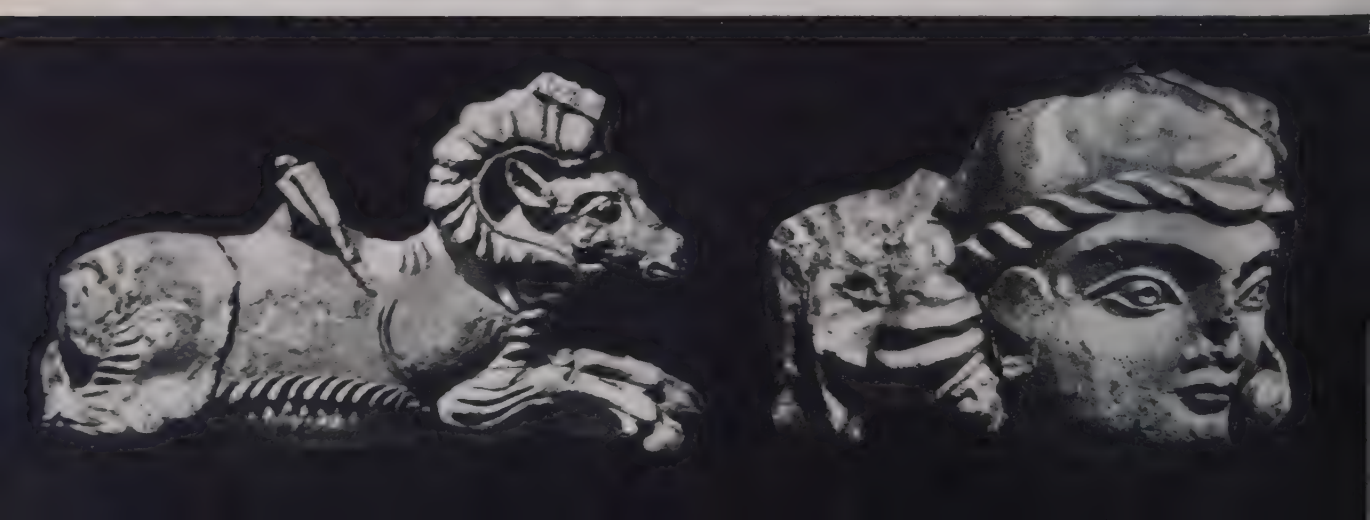
While Iranian reminiscences are less marked at Kumtura and Shorchuq, they reappear at Murtuq, in an ambience favourable to influences from nearby China. The paintings in the rock temples of Murtuq, commissioned by the knights represented kneeling above the cave entrance, have much in common with the Kizil frescoes. A donor at the extreme left of the upper row is wearing a helmet adorned with outspread wings similar to those we find in Sassanian art. The statues at Fundukistan, west of Kabul, discovered in 1937 by Hackin and Carl and dated by coins to the early phase of the Arab occupation, make it clear that Irano-Buddhist Afghanistan continued to exert a direct influence on the costumes worn by men of the upper class at Kucha.

29 - KIZIL. WALL PAINTING. 'THE SHARING OF THE RELICS' (7th-8th CENTURIES)

431 - VARAKHSHA (BUKHARA). SOGDIAN FRESCO. ELEPHANTS AND FELINES (6th-7th CENTURIES)

Recent explorations by Soviet archaeologists in the region corresponding to ancient Sogdiana, north of the Oxus, have brought to light one of the early settlements of the Bukhara oasis. Judging by the excavated remains of a palace of the third to fifth century, the Sogdians, like the Sassanians, decorated their houses with carved stucco and frescoes. Some of the stuccoes on the walls of a large hall derive from the geometric and floral designs of an earlier age. But hunting scenes and lively figure compositions also played a conspicuous part. In the representations of animals we find the flying gallop and renderings of musculature and fleece in the purest Iranian style. The frescoes in the central room also depict hunting scenes, and Persian art traditions are again apparent in the symmetrical arrangement of the two felines attacking a

432 - VARAKHSHA (BUKHARA). SOGDIAN STUCCOES. (A) RAM (B) WOMAN'S HEAD (3rd-4th CENTURIES)

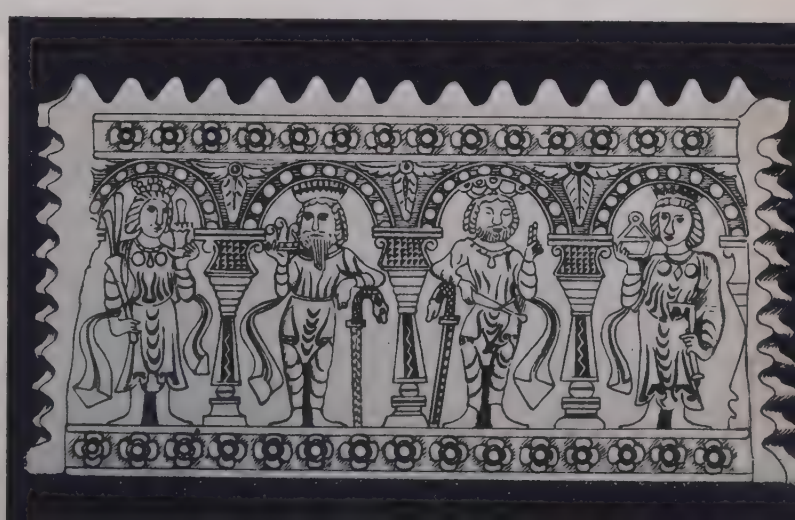


433 - PYANJIKENT. FRESCO. RITUAL BANQUET OF THE SODGIAN 'LANDED GENTRY' (7th-8th CENTURIES)

mounted elephant, in the elegant and supple line-work and the carefully balanced composition. One gets the impression that the technique and style of these Sogdian artists were essentially derivative, and they reflect little credit on the local school of painting.

Other Sogdian frescoes, however, of a later date (seventh-eighth centuries), decorating several houses, have recently been found at Pyanjikent. Some have a religious, others a secular character, and all bear the mark of graceful craftsmanship; for example, this banquet scene so deeply imbued with the spirit of that aristocratic society, 'the fine flower of Aryanism in Central Asia' (René Grousset), whose way of life is so delightfully illustrated in the Sassanianizing paintings of the ancient caravan towns spaced out along the Silk Route.

Contemporaneous with this fresco, a Sogdian ossuary in terracotta reverts to the Hellenistic method of figures placed in arches—a procedure that was strictly applicable, as we have seen, only to the funerary arts. The figures in relief probably correspond to the four Zoroastrian divinities who also appear on the Bishapur ossuary: the earth goddess, the fire god, the god Mithras and the goddess Anahita.



434 - SOGDIAN OSSUARY. ZOROASTRIAN DIVINITIES (7th CENTURY)

435 - TOPRAK-KALA. FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURE. MAN'S HEAD (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

Excavations of the magnificent royal palace of Toprak-kala (third century) have yielded a great wealth of material throwing light on the climate of culture in ancient Chorasmia. The lavish decorations (carved and painted stucco and wall paintings) in so many different rooms came as a complete surprise. In the 'Hall of Warriors' the statues of kings and gods placed in niches perpetuate local traditions going back to Nysa (Parthian period). The 'Hall of Stags' contained a frieze of these animals, a little less than life-size, painted in maroon on a blue ground and treated with vigorous realism. Tolstov, who brought to light these important vestiges of the civilization of eastern Iran, claims to see in them no trace of Persian influence, and regards them as deriving exclusively from the traditions of Scytho-Sarmatian art. The Soviet scholar expresses surprise at finding an animal represented here which 'does not seem to have existed in the Oxus basin.' This animal, however, belongs to a species of deer which sometimes figures on Sassanian dishes and whose last survivors have recently been discovered near Susa.

The arts of ancient Sogdiana and Chorasmia shed new light on those of the Tarim oases. While admittedly there are no longer sufficient grounds for assigning the art production of these regions solely to Sassano-Buddhist and Irano-Chinese spheres of influence, it would be equally unscientific to regard it as stemming exclusively from the eastern Iranian arts of the Oxus and Jaxartes basins. Certainly there is no denying the original creative power inherent in this art, but it was undoubtedly fecundated by Sassanian Persia.

436 - TOPRAK-KALA. DECORATION OF THE PALACE.
(A) STAG'S HEAD
(B & C) STATUES (3rd CENTURY A.D.)

Round about 540 the government of the steppe country was shared between three Turco-Mongolian powers. Two of them, the Yuan-Yuans and the Ephthalites, were allies. The third, the Huns of Europe, dominated the Russian steppes around the Sea of Azov and the mouth of the Don. The Yuan-Yuans were supplanted by one of their subject peoples, the Tukiu, a Turkish tribe which had settled in the early sixth century in the Altai region, where they plied the trade of blacksmiths. The seat of their empire remained on the upper Orkhon. But on the death of the *qaghan* Bumin (552), shortly after his triumph, his possessions were divided between his son and his younger brother. Thus were constituted the khanate of the Eastern Tukiu and that of the Western Tukiu. With the help of the Sassanians, the leader of the Westerners overcame the Ephthalite Huns, whose lands, Sogdiana and Bactria, were divided between the two allies (565-568). Later on, the Western Tukiu having become, on the Oxus, immediate neighbours of Sassanian Persia, Byzantium contracted an alliance with them in the course of the war then being waged for the monopoly of the silk trade. By the end of the sixth century they had brought the whole country, including its capitals Balkh and Kunduz, under their control.

Reunited under the Sui and T'ang dynasties, China re-established its hegemony over the Tarim basin oasis towns and broke up the double empire of the Tukiu. But China's position in Upper Asia was undermined and weakened in the reign of the emperor Kao-tsung (665-683), with the result that the Western Tukiu regained their independence and the Eastern Tukiu re-established their khanate in their traditional homeland at the sources of the river Orkhon, in the Otukan mountains (the present-day Khangai range). In the mid-eighth century the Uighur empire superseded that of the Eastern Tukiu. It helped the T'ang emperors to safeguard their dynasty, and after recapturing Lung-yang the Uighurs returned to Mongolia (763). During a prolonged stay at Lo-yang, the Uighur *qaghan* was converted to Manichaeism and thus to some extent 'civilized.'

A syncretic faith, combining Mazdaean and Christian doctrines, Manichaeism took its rise in Persia in the third century A.D. Persecuted by the Zoroastrian priesthood, the Manichaeans emigrated to the lands east and north of Persia, where there were large Iranian populations. In Sogdiana they formed an autonomous community and translated into the Sogdian language the religious texts diffused by their missionaries. Thus it was that the Sogdian versions were translated into Old Turkish when, in the eighth century, the Uighur khan was converted to Manichaeism and assumed the title 'emanation of Mani.' By the very fact of their origin, the Manichaeans must certainly have brought a new influx of Iranian influences into the lands on the frontiers of T'ang China; this is borne out by the frescoes and miniatures of the Turfan region, ruled by the Uighurs from 800 onward.

437 - YENISEI. KIRGHIZ BRONZES. PLAQUES AND TRAPPINGS (7th-8th CENTURIES)

In the mid-ninth century the Uighurs succumbed to the Kirghiz of the upper Yenisei, a group of Turkish nomads who now settled in 'imperial Mongolia' on the upper Orkhon, around the capital Kara Balghasun, and remained masters of the country until about 920, when they in turn were defeated by another Mongol people and driven back towards the steppes of the Yenisei.

Such were the racial and cultural clashes that took place in the steppes of Upper Asia during the period corresponding to our Early Middle Ages. No less instructive is the movement of peoples in the steppes of South Russia, which, from the viewpoint of the geographer and historian, are merely an extension of the Asiatic steppe. Towards 560-565 the Avars migrated to Europe, overcoming the Hun tribes they encountered on their path and gradually incorporating them into their own group. They occupied Hungary and there, in the plain forming the westernmost tip of the Asiatic steppe, they bade fair to restore the far-flung domination of the Turco-Mongol empires. In their struggle against Byzantium they formed an alliance with the Persian king Chosroes II, but the combined attempt of Avars and Persians to capture Constantinople came to nothing (626). From this rebuff dates the decline of the Avars, who made their way back to Hungary. The leading role in Turco-Mongolian Europe then fell for a time to the Bulgarians, a people of Turkish origin who, in the second quarter of the seventh century, had built up a powerful kingdom in the north-western Caucasus between the Kuban and the Sea of Azov. The conversion of the khan Boris in the mid-ninth century and the progressive Slavicization of the Bulgarians cut them off from the other Turkish peoples and led to their gradual integration into Christian Europe.

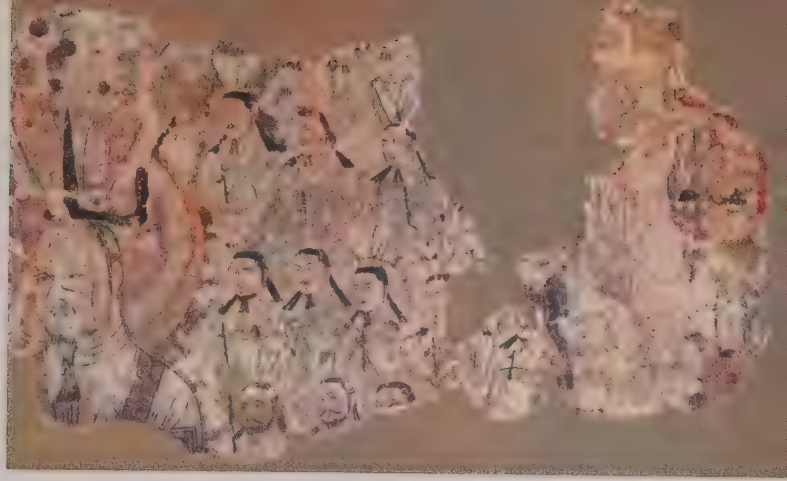
No subject in the art of the nomads is so frequent and widespread as that of a mounted archer shooting at animals which are either attacking him or in flight before him. The treasures discovered at Kopeni, in the Minussinsk region (southern Siberia), show how the iconography deriving from Sassanian Persia, after being recast and amalgamated with art trends from the Far East, went to form the Kirghiz art of the seventh and eighth centuries. A series of bronze plaques takes its inspiration from the royal hunts pictured on Sassanian dishes. Kirghiz art, however, seems more lively, more realistic and dynamic. There is an unmistakable interest in landscape for its own sake and Chinese influence is discernible in the treatment of mountains and clouds.

In their westward advance, the Huns, who had been in close contact with the eastern nomads, maintained their own traditions, influenced strongly by Persian prototypes (Hun tombs on the Volga). The objects in the proto-Bulgarian treasure of Nagyszentmiklos (Hungary), attributed to the ninth century, reveal Sassanian motifs combined with other influences. Such is the case with a gold jug whose shape and decorative medallions are typically Sassanian. Turkish reminiscences, however, in conjunction with Scytho-Sarmatian traits, characterize the medallion with a warrior on horseback holding a captive by the hair, while the severed head of another enemy hangs from his saddle. Sassanian influences, in fact, took effect to a greater or less degree according to the peoples the nomads encountered in the course of their migrations.

The theory that Sassanian themes and motifs were transmitted to China by the eastern nomads has been reinforced by some of the objects found at Kopeni, which bear the joint imprint of both Persian and Chinese art. Thus the beribboned stag depicted at the flying gallop on a bronze pendant inlaid with gold, from Minussinsk (Siberia), may be regarded as a Chinese adaptation of a Sassanian theme. But while Eurasia aided in the transmission of Iranian art forms in the direction of China, these forms were also carried eastwards into Central Asia as a consequence of the spread of Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity, with the result that we find them reappearing in Buddhist art.

438 - (A & B) HUNGARY. PROTO-BULGARIAN JUG (NINTH CENTURY) — BUDAPEST MUSEUM (C) SIBERIA. CHINESE PENDANT (T'ANG, 7th-10th CENTURIES) — KRASNOYARSK MUSEUM

We have already traced the formation of an Irano-Buddhist style in the rock temples of Bamiyan and Kakrak, and seen it spread into Chinese Turkestan where, stage by stage, the same repertory of themes came into general currency. It was by way of this style that the arts of India and Iran penetrated into China. Nor must we overlook the fact that, during the early part of the T'ang period, the Tarim basin was a Chinese protectorate; and that the kingdom of Turfan further east, after being conquered by the emperor T'ai-tsung (640), also became the seat of a Chinese governor. According to Hackin, the evolution of the Turfan paintings shows, on the whole, a complex interplay of Sino-Iranian elements, more and more influenced by Chinese art. It is above all in the Manichaean wall paintings and miniatures of the first Uighur period (early ninth century) that we can detect a fresh current of Iranian inspiration. Nestorian art, too, is represented at Turfan by a wall painting on the theme of Palm Sunday in which Iranian influence is combined with that of Roman-Byzantine art.



439 - TURFAN. MANICHAEAN PAINTING (9th CENTURY) — SHOTCHO CAVE

440 - TURFAN. NESTORIAN PAINTING (9th CENTURY). PALM SUNDAY

As regards the Kondo wall paintings in the Horyu-ji, near Nara, the decorative designs on the seats and costumes of the Bodhisattvas prove that Sassanian textiles were imported into Japan in large numbers in the Nara period. Beaded circles figure on the *langoti* of the Bodhisattvas in the sixth fresco, and flower designs deriving from Iranian palmettes are inserted between the circles bordering certain scenes. Here we have a composite art similar to the one we saw taking shape in Central Asia. While some details hark back to the style of the cave paintings at Tun-huang (and to the art of Turfan), others recall the art of Bezeklik as reflected in the Tun-huang paintings. The flying goddesses in the Horyu-ji are related to similar figures in T'ang paradise scenes, inspired by Indian models transmitted from Bamiyan to Kizil and Tun-huang.

Thus Chinese Turkestan seems to have acted as a connecting link between the Indo-Iranian art of the Tarim oases and the Kondo paintings at Nara. To say this is not to rule out the view that Ajanta also served as an agent of transmission. Cave I, which contains the most famous Buddhist paintings at Ajanta, unquestionably reveals Iranian influence. The banquet scene is in a distinctly Sassanianizing style. As for the animal subjects of the ceiling paintings, they keep to the tradition of the large cave at Taq-i-Bustan, just as the beaded circles continue that of Sassanian textiles. Considering, however, that these latter motifs occur less often at Ajanta than they do in Chinese Turkestan, and that at Ajanta they are more fully assimilated into the complex of purely Indian elements, it would seem that their main channel of transmission lay in Chinese Turkestan, where they were incorporated in a provincial Iranian art.

China was never more 'pan-Asiatic' than under the T'ang emperors. The last pretenders to the Sassanian throne, driven from Persia by the Arab conquest, fled eastwards to the Tarim basin. Next, in 670-673, they sought refuge in the T'ang capital, Ch'ang-an. The presence in China of these exiled Persian princes initiated a new wave of Iranian influence in which a significant part may well have been played by those 'fire-coloured embroideries' which the Persian refugees are known to have presented to the Chinese court in the reign of Yuen-tsung (712-756). This latter date, as it so happens, coincides with that of the foundation of the great imperial collection of the Shoso-in at Nara, which includes some fine textiles of Sassanian inspiration.

About the middle of the seventh century, the Japanese established diplomatic relations with the Chinese court in the T'ang capital. In 710 was founded the great Japanese capital of Nara, laid out on a chess-board plan in imitation of Ch'ang-an. It remained the artistic and cultural centre of Japan until the end of the eighth century. Buddhism played a key part in its development. The emperor Shomu (701-756) was a lavish patron of the arts, and in 756, shortly after Shomu's death, his widow, the empress Komyo, presented the treasures of his court to the Great Buddha of the Todai-ji temple, at Nara, of which the Shoso-in was the central storehouse. The eighth-century works in the imperial treasure of the Shoso-in are of much interest for our present study, showing as they do the extent to which the influence of Sassanian Iran made itself felt in the luxury arts of China, even when those arts were 'naturalized Japanese.' For at that time the court of Nara followed the fashions and imitated the arts of the Chinese court of Ch'ang-an.

441 - AJANTA. BANQUET SCENE (5th-6th CENTURIES)

442 - NARA. IMPERIAL TREASURE OF THE SHOSO-IN
(A) CUP (B) DISH (7th-8th CENTURIES)

443 - NARA. IRANO-CHINESE ART. (A) BOWL (B) BIWA (C) BOWL (D) EWER (8th CENTURY) — IMPERIAL TREASURE OF THE SHOSO-IN

Despite their diversity and the unmistakably foreign elements they contain, the works of art in the Shoso-in treasure strike a distinctively Chinese note in their stylizations and strongly marked rhythms. Furniture and musical instruments in precious woods inlaid with shell and mother-of-pearl, gold-work, bronzes and small boxes for parlour games vie in decorative splendour. There are gilt silver dishes with animal designs and multi-lobated bowls having obvious affiliations with Sassanian goldsmiths' work. Among the glassware is a goblet adorned with rings in relief which may well be an authentically Iranian piece,

444 - NARA. SASSANO-CHINESE ART. BROCADE (8th CENT.) — TREASURE OF THE SHOSO-IN

445 - NARA. JAPANESE TEXTILE OF SASSANIAN INSPIRATION (8th CENTURY) — IMPERIAL TREASURE OF THE SHOSO-IN

whose original stem had been broken and replaced by a silver stem; the same is true of a small ewer whose Persian form proves it to be an imported object. Then there is a kind of guitar (*biwa*) inlaid with mother-of-pearl, of the same type as the one represented on a Sassanian silver plate; from which we may infer that this musical instrument had found its way from Persia to China.

But the appreciation of Persian art in Japan of the Nara period is most strikingly evident in textile designs. The hunting scenes and animal motifs that we find amid floral patterns, dispersed on a uniform ground or framed in circles edged with beads or rinceaux, testify to Persian inspiration. But we also find tendencies towards a certain naturalism, combined with sweeping decorative rhythms, charged with a new power and freedom, and thus creating an ambience propitious to the full flowering of Chinese textile art. Typical is a brocade, with beaded medallions on a blue ground, adorned with the familiar theme of confronted horsemen swinging round to shoot at animals. The Chinese weaver has arranged his figures in such a way that the second pair of hunters, in the medallion below, seem like reflections in a mirror: an effect which assuredly would never have suggested itself to a Persian artist.

446 - T'ANG ART OF CHINA. HORSEMAN (7th-8th CENTURIES) — BRITISH MUSEUM

In the 'pageant of court life' evoked by the works of art in the Shoso-in treasure, the T'ang figurines include many horses, an animal that played an outstanding part in the epics and in the games of that age; hence its popularity as a subject with modellers. The establishment of a Chinese protectorate in Turkestan and the relations maintained with the princes of the Kabul valley must have led to cross-breeding between Persian stallions and Chinese mares. Moreover, some of the riders represented recognizably belong to Turco-Iranian ethnic types of the Tarim basin. Figurines of horsewomen are equally

447 · T'ANG ART OF CHINA. WOMEN PLAYING POLO (8th CENTURY) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

frequent; they are shown playing polo, a sport that originated in Sassanian Iran and made its way to China where, under the emperor Yuen-tsung, it was practised in the vast parks of Ch'ang-an and was one of the favourite recreations of the emperor's mistress Yang Kwei-fei. Many of these statuettes are painted in various colours on a white slip. Others are enhanced with coloured glazes helping to differentiate the parts of the figurine: garments, accessories, horses' saddles. Likewise, the relief decorations on some early seventh-century Chinese porcelain vases clearly imitate Sassanian motifs.

448 - CHINESE ART OF SASSANIAN INSPIRATION. VASE (6th-7th CENTURIES) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

The fact that Chinese porcelain has been found throughout the Abbasid caliphate, not only in Persia (Susa) but in Iraq (Samarra) and Egypt (Fostat), vouches for the commercial and artistic expansion of T'ang China, further attested by the T'ang mirrors found at Susa and Gorgan. But there was a reciprocity of influences. The Chinese potter who modelled a jug with a small tubular spout took inspiration from a similar jug of a type common at Susa, while the large T'ang vases with 'dragon' handles in the Shoso-in treasure and elsewhere, reveal the influence of Sassano-Abbasid pottery combined, by way of Iran, with 'posthumous' Hellenistic influences.

CONCLUSION

The imagery of Achaemenian art tells us next to nothing about 'the world of the dead' or 'the world of the gods.' Its chief concern is with the world of the living and, even here, it is confined almost exclusively to representations of the life of the ruling class. During the Parthian period the range of images is even narrower; nothing has survived of the world of the gods or that of the dead, and of the world of the living we have only rare glimpses, anyhow on the Plateau. If we are beginning to know more about Parthian art, this is mainly by way of its manifestations outside Iran proper: in Mesopotamia, South Russia and India, where, however, it always shows traces of 'local colour.'

In Sassanian art we find no references to the world of the dead. The world of the gods, however, re-emerges, as a result apparently of contacts with the art of other countries. But it is above all in depictions of the world of the living that the creative genius of the race, which reached its apogee under the Sassanids, can be seen in all its plenitude. The vitality of this art and its numerous innovations (always within the framework of the accepted notions of the age) inaugurated an art tradition traces of which can still be seen today.

The wave of Hellenism that swept over western Asia as far as India after Alexander's victorious campaign brought about drastic changes. Greek domination, which lasted for nearly two centuries, left a permanent imprint on the arts of Iran. None the less it is as hard to assess the extent of Greek penetration as to determine to what extent the Greeks in Iran fell under Iranian influence. That the two arts co-existed side by side is evident; far from becoming obsolete, Achaemenian art held its ground, and traces of it are found from Nimrud Dagh to Nysa, no less than in Persepolis. So far as can be judged, such foreign elements as were assimilated by Iranian art never struck deep and, appearances notwithstanding, were no more than a veneer.

It was in 'Outer Iran' that the reaction against foreign influences took its rise and the new rulers, the Parthians, made a point of respecting the ancient traditions of Iranian art, that had been to some extent obliterated by the foreign veneer to which we have referred. Thus it was on the soil of Iran itself that the clash of cultures took place, when westernizing tendencies were countered once again by art forms stemming from the eastern steppes.

The reconquest of Iran by the Parthians led to the establishment of a new frontier on the line of the Euphrates. And it is here, at Hatra and Dura Europos, in the territory the Parthians now brought under their control, that we find their art under its most distinctive and traditional aspect. Even Palmyra which, politically, never formed part of Parthia took guidance from this form of art.

The Sassanid dynasty came into power at the very time when the art of Iran was being regenerated, achieving stability and harking back to the racial tradition. But though the roots of the ancient Irano-Oriental culture were

449 - IRANIAN ART. IVORY CASKET, DETAIL (7th-8th CENTURIES) — PRIVATE COLLECTION

jealously safeguarded, there was no question of deliberately closing the door to foreign influences. This vigorous, nation-wide renaissance gave birth to the national art described in the foregoing pages, and it proliferated in all directions, westwards to the Atlantic coast and eastwards into China.

But the true heir of Sassanian Iran was Islam. For the second time in a thousand years of its long history, Iran came under the yoke of a foreign conqueror. The circumstances under which this took place were, however, very different from those attending the victory of Alexander the Great. Instead of being the emissaries of a full-fledged civilization the new invaders were a race of wild, uncultured Bedouins, bred in the sands of the Arabian desert, which now proceeded to impose its language and its script on the repre-

sentatives of the most sophisticated culture of the age. Art had meant nothing to the new masters of the country. None the less the Arabs were amenable to many of the ideas of their new subjects. Not only did they draw freely on the literature and annals of Iran, and sedulously copy Iranian forms of government and administration; they were even more impressed and more profoundly affected by the art of the country they had conquered.

That Persia exerted a decisive influence on the arts of Islam was largely due to the political and religious reactions of the Iranians, whose spirit remained unbroken even in defeat. From the very start of the Arab occupation there developed a zone of resistance in the vast area bordering the Caspian Sea and sheltered by a barrier of mountain ranges, and here the Persian spoken language, writing and religion were preserved intact. Further east, it was in the ancient land of Khorasan, which had held out longest against the Macedonian conqueror, that the standard of revolt was raised in the eighth century, a revolt of a doctrinal nature by which the foundations were laid of the national religion, Shi'ism, essentially a Persian creation.

Thus Iran survived as a nation, with a national religion and a national art. In the early ninth century Persian culture made good even in Baghdad, at the court of the Abbasid caliphs. From now on a series of short-lived dynasties held the reins of power in Iran: Tahirids, Samanids, Buwayhids and others, some brought to power by the masses, others by the aristocracy. Even when dynasties of Turkish origin took over in the mid-tenth century, they soon adopted the Iranian way of life, patronized all things Persian, and promoted a renaissance of the Persian language, poetry, arts and architecture.

Given the political and religious background, coupled with undying memories of the glorious saga of the race, it is not surprising that the sacred fire of patriotism was not quenched and that, even when Islamized, the arts of Persia continued to employ the copious repertory of forms bequeathed by Sassanian art. There was no break of continuity, and though the mosque replaced the fire temple, it was built on the lines of the ancient sanctuaries, and the palaces of Arab noblemen were adorned, like those of the Sassanids, with frescoes and stucco-work illustrating traditional themes. Moslem potters reproduced the designs of Sassanian metal-workers, whose lavish imagery also inspired the ivory-workers and wood-carvers of the new régime. Whatever the material employed—glass, metal, textiles, wood or stone—the Arab craftsmen copied indefatigably the time-hallowed motifs of the past.

Thus the gulf was bridged between the old order and the new, and the Moslem empire, the only Oriental Power with which the West maintained effective contact, diffused for many centuries to come, from India to the Pyrenees, that age-old creative art which had never ceased to flourish on the Plateau. And so, in transmitting its heritage to the Arab world, Sassanian Persia enriched the new cultures of East and West alike with its aesthetic patrimony.

SASSANIAN IRAN (224-651 A.D.)	ROMAN EMPIRE Asia Minor	ROMAN EMPIRE Italy	BYZANTIUM	EGYPT
3rd - 4th centuries A.D.	**SYRO-ROMAN ART**	**ROMAN ART**		
FIRUZABAD *Architecture*	245 - DURA EUROPOS	305 - Palace of DIOCLETIAN		300 - **COPTIC AR**
CTESIPHON *Architectural Decoration*		315 - Arch of CONSTANTINE		
BISHAPUR NAQSH-I-RUSTAM *Rock Sculptures*			324 - Founding of CONSTANTINOPLE BYZANTINE ART	
350 - Persecution of Christians in Iran	*Influence of Sassanian Architecture*		*Oriental Influences*	
Creation of the Textile Industry	SYRIA MESOPOTAMIA	DALMATIA RAVENNA		Basilica of St MENAS (4th-5th cent.) *Imported Byzantine S*
5th - 6th centuries A.D.				
Palace of SARVISTAN *Architecture*	ANTIOCH *Mosaics* *Sassanian Influence*			430 - Monastery Churches of SOHAG
Victory of the Huns over King PEROZ 457-484	476 - Fall of the Roman Empire			
TAQ-I-BUSTAN: *Narrative Reliefs* *Decorative motifs taken from the sumptuary arts*		473-526 THEODORIC Master of Italy RAVENNA		
562 - Peace Treaty between Chosroes I and Justinian	544 - MANDYLION OF EDESSA	527-565 - EMPEROR JUSTINIAN 565 - Death of Justinian 568 - Lombards in Italy	552 - *Persian Silk Industry at Byzantium* *Cloisonné Goldwork*	SAQQARA Monastery of St Jeremias *Coptic Frescoes, Sculpture and Text Sassanian Influenc*
7th - 8th centuries A.D.				
	614 - Capture of Jerusalem by CHOSROES II		610 - Emperor HERACLIUS	619 - Persian Arı in Egypt
Decorative motifs taken from the sumptuary arts	634 - Arab Conquest of Syria and Mesopotamia		626 - Persians and Avars besiege CONSTANTINOPLE	639-642 - Arab Conquest of Byzantine Egyp
651 - Death of YAZDGARD III END OF THE SASSANID DYNASTY	637 - Fall of CTESIPHON			
	661 - DAMASCUS Capital of the Umayyad Caliphate			
9th - 11th centuries A.D.				
			Greek and Constantinopolitan Workshops (9th-11th c.) *Sassanian Influences* CONSTANTINOPLE: *Post-Sassanian* Ceramics and Textiles	

EUROPE	SIBERIA	MOSLEM EAST	CHINA AND JAPAN	INDIA CENTRAL ASIA
ART OF THE GOTHS *Goldwork* *Cloisonné Enamels* *Scytho-Sarmatian Affinities* PETROSSA Treasure	**TASHTYK ART** (1st-4th cent.)			241-251 - Persian Conquest of the KUSHAN Kingdom *Penetration of Sassanian Art* **GRECO-BUDDHIST ART** 320 - GUPTA Dynasty (4th-5th cent.) **IRANO-BUDDHIST ART** AFGHANISTAN *Rock Temples* SOGDIANA CHORASMIA *Frescoes, Stuccoes*
419 - Visigoth Kingdom in Gaul and Spain 451 - ATTILA in Gaul 481 - CLOVIS King of the Franks **MEROVINGIAN ART** *Mosaics Goldwork* *Iranian and Scytho-Sarmatian Influences* HUNGARY: **HUNNO-AVAR ART**	ALTAI (5th-10th cent.) *Hunting Scenes inspired by those on Sassanian Dishes* *Chinese Influence* YENISEI (6th-8th cent.) **KIRGHIZ ART** KOPENI Treasure	*Influence of Sassanian Architecture* Armenian and Georgian Art Centres (7th century)	414 - YUN-KANG *Buddhist Rock Temples* 450-650 - KIZIL *Frescoes (first style)* *Sassanian Influences* Animal Sculpture	**GUPTA ART** (4th-6th cent.) AJANTA (5th-6th cent.) *Sassanian Influences* 502-530 - Ephthalites Huns ELEPHANTA (late 6th c.)
Sassanian Influence 650 - JOUARRE Crypt *(sarcophagi)* 710 - Arab Conquest of Spain and South-west Gaul NAGYSZENT-MIKLOS Treasure	**SCYTHO-SIBERIAN ART**	622 - Hegira 632 - Death of Mohammed	618 - Beginning of T'ANG DYNASTY *Capital Ch'ang-an* **INDO-IRANIAN ART OF THE TARIM OASES** Tun-huang *Frescoes* 650-750 - KIZIL *Frescoes (second style)* 680 - HORYU-JI, Nara *Kondo Frescoes* 756 - Shoso-in Treasure, NARA	**POST-GUPTA ART** ELLORA (late 6th-9th c.) Rise of the Uighurs
800 - CHARLEMAGNE Emperor of the West Germigny-des-Prés Catalonian Churches (9th-11th cent.) *Sassanian Influences*		*Post-Sassanian Islamic Textiles*	**INDO-TURCO-IRANIAN ART** Manichaean Paintings TURFAN Paintings Nestorian Frescoes	

Sassanian art, whose true heir was the art of Islam, long outlived its epoch. From the end of the third century on, the Roman historical relief tends to resemble the rock reliefs of Iran. Likewise, in architecture, Persian building methods (barrel vaults, domes on squinches) and architectonic elements (arches and niches) find their way to the West, are adopted and propagated by great cultural centres such as Ravenna, Byzantium and Milan, and thus contribute to the genesis of early Romanesque.

Transcaucasia, Syria, Coptic Egypt and the Islamic lands lie in the area immediately accessible to Sassanian textiles and works of art. They play a leading part in the transmission of the thematic repertory and decorative designs which now tend to 'orientalize' the Christian arts of Europe.

The penetration of Sassanian art into Central Asia keeps pace with the successes of Shapur I and II in their operations against the Indo-Scythian empire of the Kushans. It is the Irano-Buddhist art of Bamiyan that gives the lead to the art of the Tarim oases (Kizil, Turfan) and makes the arts of Iran and India known in China (Ch'ang-an, Tun-huang) and in Japan (Kondo paintings in the Horyu-ji and Shoso-in treasure at Nara).

In the arts of ancient Chorasmia and Sogdiana, we find Irano-Buddhist and Irano-Chinese elements intermingling with the art forms of eastern Iran (Oxus and Jaxartes basins). Tribal migrations in the Empire of the Steppes during the early Middle Ages explain how it came about that an iconography deriving from faraway Sassanian Persia was modified, and integrated into art currents coming from the Far East (arts of the Avars in Central Europe and of the Kirghiz of the Upper Yenisei).

PART THREE

GLOSSARIAL INDEX

ABACUS — Slab forming the uppermost member of the capital of a column . . . *p.* 23, 24, 292, 301, 303

ABBASIDS — Arab caliphs of Baghdad (750-1258) *p.* 336, 339

ABU'L ABBAS AN-NASHI — Arab poet . . *p.* 214

ABU NUWAS — The most famous Arab poet (762-815) of the Abbasid period. . . . . *p.* 204, 209

ACHAEMENIDAE or ACHAEMENIDS — Persian royal dynasty whose name derives from Achaemenes, first of the line, who reigned c. 700 B.C. With Darius III, vanquished by Alexander the Great, the dynasty came to an end (330 B.C.). *p.* 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 15, 17, 18, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 42, 47, 49, 57, 65, 66, 69, 75, 85, 87, 89, 90, 96, 100, 101, 104, 110, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 131, 133, 149, 151, 157, 165, 182, 222, 233, 247, 248, 252, 258, 261, 265, 268, 269, 272, 274, 277, 284, 285, 289, 290, 294, 297, 298, 337

ACHEIROPOETIC IMAGES — 'Not made with hands' but by the direct impression of a face or the entire body . . . . . *p.* 295

AHRIMAN — The power of evil and of darkness, brother and enemy of Ahuramazda. According to an ancient myth, both were the progeny of a bisexual being, Zurvan. Ahriman, as the first-born, had in the beginning ruled the world and Ahuramazda had to contend with him in order to establish his dominion. *p.* 87, 133, 159, 235, 305 *fig.* 11, 201

AHURAMAZDA — Supreme god in the ancient Persian pantheon and also in the reformed religion introduced by Zoroaster. Creator of the world, he was named 'the Wise, the Lord.' Son of the androgynous deity, Zurvan, he was in perpetual opposition to his twin brother Ahriman, lord of evil, whom in the end he was to vanquish. *p.* 57, 87, 122, 131, 157, 166, 190, 193, 235, 243, 245 *fig.* 11, 168, 202, 299 338, 339

AIRTAM — Ruins some 12 miles upstream from Termez (Russian Turkestan), on the right bank of the Amu Darya. . . . . *fig.* 347

AJANTA — Indian village north-east of Bombay, in an isolated region of Hyderabad. Famed for its caves, used as Buddhist monasteries and chapter-houses and decorated with fresco paintings made in the course of many hundreds of years, the most representative period extending from the 6th to the 8th century A.D. . . . . *p.* 330 *fig.* 441

ALBANS — A nomad people of the ancient district of Albania in the eastern Caucasus (present-day Azerbaijan) . . . . . *p.* 120

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356-323 B.C.) — King of Macedon, son of Philip II. Freed the Greek states of Asia Minor, occupied the Phoenician cities, founded Alexandria, invaded Egypt and advanced into Mesopotamia. After his victory over Darius III (331 B.C.) all the capitals of the Persian Empire (Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatana) opened their gates to him. Parthyene, Hyrcania, Aria, Arachosia, Bactria and Sogdiana were subdued and reorganized (329-328) and new Alexandrias founded at strategic points. Entering the Indus valley, Alexander advanced to the Hydaspes, but here his exhausted troops refused to go any further. He built a fleet and instructed Admiral Nearchus to reach the Persian Gulf. Then he returned to Susa where the end of the campaign was celebrated with five days' festivities (February, 325); he went on to Babylon, where he died (323) when everything seemed set for a new conquest, that of Carthage. *p.* 15, 16, 33, 34, 116, 277, 337, 338

ALEXANDER SEVERUS — Roman emperor (A.D. 222-235). Defeated Ardashir I (232), founder of the Sassanid dynasty, but was unable to follow up his success owing to an invasion of Gaul by the Germanic peoples. He was slain in the course of his campaign against them (235) . . . . . *p.* 87

ALTAI — Mountainous region in South Siberia *p.* 326

AMER, see SANTA MARIA D'AMER.

AMMAN — Capital of Jordan. . . . . *p.* 291

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS — Roman historian born at Antioch about A.D. 330. Served under Constantius II and accompanied the Emperor Julian in his campaign against the Persians (363). His history *(Rerum Gestarum Libri XXXI)*, though incomplete, contains much useful information about Iran and the Iranians . . . . . *p.* 182

AMU DARYA — Modern name of the river Oxus, which forms the boundary between Afghanistan and the U.S.S.R. It flows into the Aral Sea.

ANAHITA — Goddess of the waters, fertility and procreation. Her full name *Ardvi Sura Anahita* seems to signify 'Lofty, mighty, immaculate.' She was also associated with warfare. *p.* 85, 87, 120, 121, 122, 149, 166, 176, 185, 194, 245, 301, 323 *fig.* 158, 218, 376, 395

ANAXYRIDES — Greek name of the breeches worn by the Medes, Persians, Phrygians and certain peoples of Gaul and Germany. . . . . *p.* 294

ANGERS (Maine-et-Loire) — City in western France. Remains of the abbey church of Saint-Aubin (12th century) . . . . . *p.* 298, *fig.* 387

ANGOULÊME (Charente) — Former capital of the old French province of Angoumois. Has a fine Romanesque cathedral. . . . . *p.* 301 *fig.* 362

ANTINOÉ — Egyptian town on the Nile founded by the emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), who named it after his favourite, the beautiful youth Antinoüs, and had a temple built there. *p.* 229, 234, 236, 303 *fig.* 273, 277, 278

ANTIOCH — Capital of the Greek kingdom of Syria, on the left bank of the Orontes about 20 miles from the sea, and for a long time the chief city of the Near East. Founded in 300 B.C. by Seleucus Nicator *p.* 135, 141, 200, 287, 293, 306 *fig.* 405, 406

ANTIOCHUS I (281-261 B.C.) — Second king of the Seleucid dynasty, son of Seleucus Nicator who left him the Asiatic provinces of the empire, with Seleucia on the Tigris as his seat of government. . . *p.* 34

ANTIOCHUS III, THE GREAT (223-187 B.C.) — Sixth Seleucid, brother and successor of Seleucus III. A king of indomitable energy and vast political ambitions, he conquered Judaea, the Egyptian cities of Asia Minor and defeated the Parthians. Crossing the Hindu Kush he met the ruler of the Maurya empire in the Kabul valley and renewed friendship with him. Returned to Persis through Arachosia, Drangiana and Carmania and visited the west coast of the Persian Gulf. Intoxicated with success, he determined to annex Macedonia. But Rome dealt him a fatal blow. Defeated at Thermopylae (191) and Magnesia (190) he was forced to retreat behind the Taurus range and to pay a crushing tribute *p.* 18

ANTIOCHUS IV, EPIPHANES (175-164 B.C.) — Son of Antiochus III and successor of Seleucus IV. The last great Seleucid king, he sought to restore and consolidate the disintegrating empire. *p.* 21 *fig.* 26

ANTIOCHUS I OF COMMAGENE (69-34 B.C.) — Allied himself with the Romans (c. 64). In 49 he lent his army to Pompey and was attacked by Mark Antony in 38. His monumental tomb is at Nimrud Dagh. *p.* 2, 57, 66, 87, 135 *fig.* 18, 71, 72, 75, 78*a*, 79, 80

APADANA — Large audience hall. . . *p.* 125, 182

APHRODITE (VENUS) — Greek goddess of love, beauty and fertility . . . . . *fig.* 25

APOLLO — Greek god of light, music, poetry and prophecy . . . . . *p.* 18, 67, *fig.* 23, 74, 80

ARBELA — One of the chief towns of Assyria. Present-day Erbil (Iraq). . . . . *p.* 287

ARDASHIR I — Founder of the Sassanid dynasty. Succeeded his father Papak as King of Persis (A.D. 211-212), overthrew the Parthians and established the Sassanian empire. Reigned 224-241. *p.* 35, 119, 121, 122-6, 131, 133-136, 170, 179, 185, 286, 294 *fig.* 157, 163-168, 304

ARDASHIR II — Sassanid king (379-383). Relief of his investiture at Taq-i-Bustan. *p.* 190, 193 *fig.* 233, 234, 313

ARDASHIR III — Sassanid king (A.D. 628-630) *fig.* 326

ARGHANUM — An ancient musical instrument, ancestor of our organ. . . . . *p.* 216 *fig.* 257

ARLES — City in southern France . . . . . *p.* 301

ARMENIA — Region of high plateaux in hither Asia, overlooking on all sides the neighbouring lands: Transcaucasia, Iranian Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Cappadocia. The proto-Armenian kingdom regained its independence after the destruction of Nineveh (606 B.C.), then was conquered by the Medes and Persians. After Alexander's victories it was made over to the Seleucids of Syria. In 149 B.C. the Parthian king Arsaces established in Armenia, on behalf of his brother Valarsaces, the dynasty of the Arsacids of Armenia, one of whose most famous members was Abgar, who made Edessa his capital and in whose reign the Christian religion was preached in Armenia. The Sassanians, however, tried to stamp out Christianity and replace it with Mazdaeism. In the 7th century the Sassanians were superseded by the Caliphs. Today Armenia is divided between the U.S.S.R., Turkey and Iran. . . . *p.* 288, 290, 299, 300, 301

ARSACES (ARSAK) (fl. 250 B.C.) — Founder of the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids, which ruled Persia from about 250 B.C. to A.D. 224. On the reverse of his coins is what is thought to be a representation of his deified father. All Parthian kings bore two names, their own and that of Arsaces. *p.* 110 *fig.* 130

ARSACIDS — The Parthian dynasty which ruled Persia from about 250 B.C. to A.D. 224. *p.* 6, 9, 12, 17, 33, 34, 51, 67, 69, 87, 110, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 149, 182, 295

ARTABANUS I — Parthian king (214-195 B.C.).

ARTABANUS II — Parthian king, uncle and successor of Phraates II. Died in the first year of his reign, 129 B.C., fighting against the Scythians. . *fig.* 138

ARTABANUS III — Parthian king, a descendant by the female line of the Arsacids, who were closely connected with Hyrcania and reigned over Media Atropatene. Came to the throne A.D. 16 but had to yield the crown to Tiridates (35); recalled to the throne (36) but was forced to fly the country again and died in 44.

ARTABANUS IV — Parthian king (A.D. 80-81) *fig.* 148

ARTABANUS V — Last Parthian king (A.D. c. 213-224), vanquished and killed by Ardashir I, founder of the Sassanid dynasty. *p.* 35, 56, 87, 117, 123, 125, 133, 286 *fig.* 70, 163

ARTAVASDES — Parthian king (A.D. 227-228), known to us from his coins, who appears to have retained a portion of the empire for a brief time after the fall of the Parthian dynasty (A.D. 224) *fig.* 155

ARTAXERXES II — Achaemenid king (404-358 B.C.), son of Darius II. 'What Darius and Xerxes failed to achieve with their mighty war-machine, Artaxerxes achieved with his gold, which he employed unscrupulously for diplomatic ends. But at the very moment when his power seemed at its height and he had the Greeks of Europe at his mercy, the revolt of the satraps in the western provinces brought the Empire to the verge of disintegration. Though his sole aim throughout his reign was to safeguard his frontiers, the task proved to be beyond his powers.' *p.* 121

ARTEMIS (DIANA) — Greek goddess of the moon and the night, protectress of women, twin sister and counterpart of Apollo. Identified in the Ancient East with the goddess Nanaia. . . . . *p.* 103

ASKOS — A vessel for holding water or wine, originally shaped like a leather bottle. . . . . *p.* 277

ASSUR (Qalaat Shergat) — Oldest of the capital cities of Assyria, on the west bank of the Tigris, below the confluence of the Great Zab. *p.* 32, 36, 37, 117, 137, 140, 252, 265 *fig.* 44, 60

ASSYRIA — Northern part of Mesopotamia, overlapping the region between the Tigris and Euphrates, including the whole Mosul basin on the north, and touching the western outskirts of Iran in the east. The Iranians always kept in close touch with the arts, religion and politics of Assyria. . . . . *p.* 42, 232

ASTANA — Site in Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), near Turfan, where funerary statuettes and textiles have been found . . . . . *p.* 230 *fig.* 281

ASTODAN — Ossuary in which were placed the bare bones of the dead after the corpse had been stripped of flesh, in accordance with the Zoroastrian cult. . *p.* 166 *fig.* 210

ATHENA — Greek goddess, daughter of Zeus and Metis ('Good Counsel'). Inheriting the qualities of both, she represented an harmonious combination of strength and prudence. She was guardian of States and all that made them prosper, presided over agriculture, gave men the olive-tree, the plough and other agricultural implements. She upheld law and order in law-courts, but was also a goddess of war, for which reason she was usually represented armed, as in the colossal statue made by Pheidias. *p.* 18 *fig.* 23(*c*)

ATROPATENE, see MEDIA ATROPATENE.

AUTOPHRADATES — Persian commander during the war with Alexander the Great. . . . . *fig.* 129

AVESTA — Collection of sacred books pertaining to the Mazdaean religion, attributed to Zoroaster. *p.* 121, 232, 284

AXUM — Ancient Abyssinian city, capital of an Ethiopian kingdom, to which it gave its name, during the first centuries of the Christian era. . . . *p.* 236

AZERBAIJAN, see MEDIA ATROPATENE.

BABYLON — Capital of Babylonia. The ancient city stood on both banks of the Euphrates. At the height of its glory in the Neo-Babylonian period, especially in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 B.C.). *p.* 37, 106, 232, 233, 313

BACTRIA — Great plain of northern Afghanistan, between the Hindu Kush on the south and the Oxus on the north. . . *p.* 2, 3, 5, 16, 17, 134, 318, 326

BAETYLUS — Sacred stone adored as being the habitation of a god and sometimes as the god himself *p.* 55

BAHRAM I — Sassanid king (A.D. 273-276) . . . . *p.* 166 *fig.* 211, 307

BAHRAM II — Sassanid king (A.D. 276-293). . . . *p.* 170-3, 206, 245 *fig.* 212-217, 308

BAHRAM III — Sassanid king, reigned only four months (A.D. 293) . . . . . *p.* 176 *fig.* 309

BAHRAM IV — Sassanid king (A.D. 388-399), named Kerman-shah because he had been governor of Kerman under Shapur III. . . . . *p.* 241 *fig.* 294

BAHRAM V (BAHRAM GUR) — Sassanid king (A.D. 420-438). Most famous of Sassanid kings, great hunter, poet and musician, he was the hero of many legends telling of his prowess and a favourite subject of Iranian artists, even after the fall of the Empire. His impulsiveness earned him the nickname Gur ('wild ass' or onager). Sassanian annalists treated him severely but it is clear that by leaving the practical details of administration in the hands of competent nobles, he won the affection of the upper classes and the clergy. *p.* 186, 235, 237 *fig.* 228, 317

BAKHTIARI MOUNTAINS — In the western Iranian plateau, forming part of the Zagros range. They took their name from tribes inhabiting this district in very early times . . . . . *p.* 19, 22 *fig.* 28

BALKH (BACTRA) — In Afghanistan, capital of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom founded about 250 B.C. and overthrown by an invasion of Iranian nomads about 130 B.C. Situated north of the Hindu Kush and south of the confluence of the Balkh river and the Oxus (Amu Darya) . . . . . *p.* 30, 326

BAMIYAN — Town of Afghanistan on the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush in a valley on the road from Khulm to Kabul over the Hajigak pass. Here originated the art of the Tarim basin, which flourished at the close of classical antiquity and in the early Middle Ages. Indian religions and literature were here closely associated with the material culture of Persia during the Sassanian period. *p.* 317, 318, 329 *fig.* 424, 425

BARSOM — Bundle of branches tied together, symbolizing vegetable life in cult ceremonies. *p.* 26, 67, 133, 190

BASHLYK — Woollen cap peculiar to the nomad races. Shaped like a pointed hood, it had two long ribbons to fasten it round the neck. Still worn in Russia . . . . . *p.* 104

BAYEUX (Calvados) — Town in northern France (Normandy) with a Gothic cathedral containing vestiges of an earlier Romanesque church. . *p.* 298

BEAUVAIS (Oise) — French cathedral town with old churches whose monumental sculpture in stone (tympana of Saint-Gilles and Saint-Étienne) displays typically Iranian motifs which may have been transmitted to France by Transcaucasian churches of the 11th and 12th centuries . . *p.* 299, 300 *fig.* 388, 391

BEGRAM (KAPICI) — Ancient town some 40 miles north of Kabul, probably founded by a Greco-Bactrian king. Summer capital of the Kushan dynasty *p.* 139, 272

BENEDICT II — Pope (684-685). . . . . *p.* 230

BEZEKLIK — Oasis town in the Tarim basin (Chinese Turkestan), with ancient wall paintings. . *p.* 329

BHARAHAT (BARHUT) — Village in central India with the remains of a stupa dating to the mid-2nd century B.C. . . . . *p.* 273

BISHAPUR — Town in the province of Fars, founded by the Sassanid king Shapur I. *p.* 25, 139, 140, 146, 150-9, 162, 165, 166, 176, 182, 184, 185, 193, 214, 229, 252, 277, 285, 289, 294, 323 *fig.* 175-192, 194-203, 207-211, 225-226, 364.

BISUTUN (BEHISTUN) — In the province of Kurdistan, east of Kermanshah. Site of the bas-relief of Darius the Great and three Parthian bas-reliefs. *p.* 51, 53, 57, 87, 126, 131, 261, 264 *fig.* 64-66

BUCHTHAL (Hugo) — Contemporary art historian *p.* 3

BUKHARA, see VARAKHSHA.

BURAN — Persian queen (A.D. 629) . . . . *fig.* 327

BURGAL, see SAN PEDRO DEL BURGAL.

BUWAYHIDS (BUYIDS) — Islamic dynasty of Persian descent which controlled western Persia and Mesopotamia (932-1056) . . . . . *p.* 236, 339

BYZANTIUM — Greek colony on the Bosphorus said to have been founded in the 7th century B.C. The year (A.D. 330) when Constantine the Great founded his new capital, Constantinople, on the site of the old city of Byzantium, may logically be taken as marking the beginning of the history of the Byzantine Empire. *p.* 12, 226, 228, 233, 284, 288, 290, 292, 293, 302, 303, 308, 310-312, 314, 326, 327, 342 *fig.* 287, 412.

CANIGOU, see SAINT-MARTIN DU CANIGOU.

CAPPADOCIA — Inland district in the centre of Asia Minor, between Pontus and Armenia . . . *p.* 291 *fig.* 373

CARACALLA — Roman emperor (211-217), son of Septimius Severus . . . . . *p.* 87

CARCHEMISH — City of ancient Syria, on the Euphrates. Important centre under the Hittites, but disappears from history in the time of the Persian Empire . . . . . *p.* 301

CARL (Jean) — French architect (d. 1941), member of the Hackin expedition to Central Asia. *p.* 317, 321

CARRHAE (HARRAN) — Town in northern Syria (now in Turkey), scene of a battle between the Romans and Parthians (53 B.C.). Here Crassus, proconsul of Syria and commander of the Roman army, lost both the battle and his life. . . . . *p.* 35, 185

CATAPHRACTARIUS — Cavalryman wearing scale armour, whose mount was also armoured. These heavy cavalry formations employed by the Iranians (Parthians and Sarmatians) were imitated by the Romans . . . . . *p.* 55

CAUSIA — Broad-brimmed felt hat worn exclusively in Macedonia and neighbouring lands. Shaped like a dish-cover, it sat lightly on the head and for this reason was provided with a chin-strap. . . *p.* 104

ÇAVUCH KÖI — Site near Panderma (Asia Minor) on the south shore of the Sea of Marmora . . *p.* 48, 49

CERBERUS — In Greek mythology, the dog that guards the entrance to the lower world, usually represented with three heads and the tail of a snake. *p.* 87

CHAHAR TAGH ('four arches') — Pavilion with four pillars supporting four arches surmounted by a cupola. Served in religious ceremonies of the Sassanian period, the sacred fire being lit in this kiosk-like building open on all four sides . . . . . *fig.* 193

CHAHAR TARKHAN — Site near Teheran where Sassanian stuccoes of the 5th century have been discovered . . . . . *p.* 187 *fig.* 229

CH'ANG-AN (SI-GAN FU) — Capital of the T'ang dynasty (in the province of Shen-si, north-west China). In the reign of Yuen-tsung (712-756) the elegance and luxury of the Ch'ang-an court reached their height. The last Sassanid princes in exile took refuge there (670-673). . . . . *p.* 330, 335

CHARNEY BASSET (Berkshire) — English church with 12th-century tympanum of Eastern inspiration. *p.* 300

CHIONITES — A tribe of Iranian origin, settled in north-eastern Iran, who supplied the Sassanian armies with mercenary troops . . . . . *p.* 120

CHORASMIA — Region extending over both banks of the Lower Oxus (Amu Darya) and around the Aral Sea, which formed part of the 16th satrapy under the Achaemenians. From the 3rd century A.D. an independent kingdom. Inhabitants of Iranian origin. . . . . *p.* 29, 193, 324

CHOSROES I — King of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 531-578), known as 'the Blessed' *(Anushirvan)*, the most famous of the Sassanid kings. In his reign the monarchy emerged victorious from the long struggle against the aristocracy and the people. He instituted a series of reforms, notably a rational system of taxation, designed to increase the welfare and the revenues of his empire. Idealized in Oriental tradition as a wise prince, a defender of the people, a lover of justice, and a stern yet benevolent ruler. His reign may be considered the most brilliant period of the Sassanian age, both for its military triumphs and for its achievements in art, science and literature. . . *p.* 200, 201, 203, 205, 206, 222, 223, 226, 236, 238, 247, 248, 252, 297, 304, 318 *fig.* 244-6, 289, 321, 401

CHOSROES II — King of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 590-628), grandson of Chosroes I, called 'the Victorious' *(Parvez)*. His character was very different from that of his grandfather. Cruel and grasping, he crushed the people under the burden of taxation and amassed enormous sums in his treasury. Fond of luxury and display, he dazzled his subjects with the magnificence of his court. His armies conquered Damascus and Jerusalem and carried away the True Cross; finally they were defeated by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius. Chosroes was murdered by his own son, and the Cross was restored to Jerusalem by Heraclius. *p.* 193, 200, 201, 203, 213, 222, 248, 252, 297, 327 *fig.* 252, 324.

CIMMERIANS — A people of Iranian origin, from South Russia, who crossed the Caucasus and settled in western Iran and Asia Minor in the 8th (?) century B.C. . . . . *p.* 7, 258, 298 *fig.* 335(*a*)

CLIBANARIUS — Roman name for the Persian cavalryman armed like the Roman cataphractarius. *p.* 50, 106, *fig.* 63, 121

COLOGNE — City on the left bank of the Rhine, famed from Carolingian times for its goldsmiths and illuminators. Some Sassanian silks are preserved in Cologne. *p.* 234, 235, 238

COMMAGENE — Region in the far north-east of Syria between the Taurus range and the Euphrates. Formed part of the kingdom of Syria, after whose fall it kept its independence until incorporated in the Roman Empire under Vespasian (A.D. 69-79). . *p.* 12, 57, 117 *fig.* 77

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT — Roman emperor (306-337). Established religious toleration throughout the Empire in 313 (Edict of Milan). Converted to Christianity about 323. Founded Constantinople in 330. . . . . *p.* 287

CONSTANTINOPLE — Capital of the Byzantine Empire, founded by Constantine the Great (A.D. 330) on the site of the ancient Byzantium *p.* 248, 308, 312, 315, 327, *fig.* 410

COPTIC ART — Flourished in Egypt in the early centuries of the Christian era (architecture, textiles, frescoes, sculpture) *p.* 296, 304, 310, 311, *fig.* 402, 414, 415

COPTS — Native Christian community of Egypt *p.* 302, 310

CRASSUS, MARCUS LICINIUS — Roman consul and governor of Syria. Defeated by the Parthians at Carrhae (53 B.C.) and killed. His head was cut off and sent to Orodes, the Parthian king. . *p.* 35, 185

CTESIAS — Greek physician and historian (fl. late 5th century B.C.) who spent nearly twenty years at the Achaemenid court under Artaxerxes II. . *p.* 274

CTESIPHON — Ancient city on the east bank of the Tigris, facing Seleucia. Founded by the Parthians, it served as their capital and also that of the Sassanians. *p.* 34, 35, 123, 136, 158, 182, 186, 189, 200, 229, 252, 269, 291, 292, 295, 308 *fig.* 172, 173, 232, 239, 240, 274, 375

CURTIUS RUFUS, QUINTUS — Roman biographer (fl. mid-1st century A.D.) of Alexander the Great *(De Rebus gestis Alexandri Magni)* . . . . . *p.* 10

CYRUS II, THE GREAT (559-530 B.C.) — Founder of the Persian Empire, son of Cambyses and Mandane, daughter of Astyages, King of Media. Few kings have achieved such high and honourable renown as Cyrus. A great military commander and leader of men, generous and broad-minded, he refrained from forcing new forms of government on the kingdoms he brought under his control. The Persians called him 'father,' the Hellenes whom he had conquered saw in him a worthy ruler and law-giver, and the Jews regarded him as 'the Lord's anointed.' In an historical text written in Babylon, Cyrus speaks as follows. 'After visiting all lands in search of an upright ruler, a king after his own heart, whom he could take by his hand Marduk has made known his name, "Cyrus of Anshan," and designated him to rule the world.' *p.* 16, 133, 134

DAGHESTAN — Mountainous region north of the main Caucasus range, bounded on the east by the Caspian Sea . . . . . *p.* 299, 300

DAGON — God of the Ancient Near East represented as half-man half-fish. Worshipped by the Philistines at Asdod, Gaza and Ascalon . . . . *p.* 287 *fig.* 367

DAHAE — Nomad tribes of Iranian origin who lived along the north-east frontier of Iran as far as the Caspian Sea. Before 250 B.C. they occupied the area between the Oxus and Jaxartes. Their westward migration seems to have taken place towards the end of the 4th century B.C.. . . . . *p.* 17

DALMATIA — Coastal region of present-day Yugoslavia, extending along the Adriatic . . . . . *p.* 291

DAMGHAN — Town some 200 miles east of Teheran, with the ruins of a Sassanian palace. *p.* 200, 295 *fig.* 239

DANUBE — River of Central Europe, flowing through the Balkans and emptying into the Black Sea. Its importance as an age-old traffic artery and cultural link between Western Europe and the Near East is attested by archaeological evidence, by traditions and myths, and by historical events . . *p.* 257, 260

DARAB (DARABGERD) — Town in the province of Fars, some 100 miles south-east of Shiraz. *p.* 35, 160 *fig.* 206

DARIUS I — Achaemenid king (521-486 B.C.), son of Hystaspes. 'He created a powerful, centralized, national State. The feudal society that had prevailed under Cyrus the Great was replaced by an administrative and fiscal system in which the different nationalities were respected. His great inscription at Bisutun is a kind of credo glorifying the enlightened imperialism of a just and merciful monarch. Achaemenian civilization in his reign reached the height of its power and glory.'. *p.* 36, 51, 57, 122, 133, 134, 148, 160, 262 *fig.* 78, 338

DEILAMAN — Region south-west of the Caspian Sea. *p.* 101, 220 *fig.* 112, 114, 254, 262, 292

DEMAVEND — Town some 35 miles east of Teheran, site of a Parthian cemetery. . *p.* 111 *fig.* 132

DEMETER (CERES) — Earth goddess of the harvest and fruitfulness . . . . . *p.* 18 *fig.* 23

DENAVAR — Site in the province of Kurdistan, near Kermanshah. . . . . *p.* 18 *fig.* 21, 22

DIOCLETIAN — Roman emperor (A.D. 284-305). *p.* 292

DIONYSUS — Greek god of fertility and wine, son of Zeus and Semele. He was worshipped throughout the Ancient East at the beginning of the Christian era . . . . . *p.* 18, 19, 21

DOBRUJA — Province of Rumania between the Black Sea and the lower Danube. From A.D. 29, formed part of Roman Moesia; known under Diocletian and Constantine the Great as 'Scythia Minor'. *p.* 260

DOLICHENIAN CULT see JUPITER DOLICHENUS.

DUKHTAR-I-NOSHERVAN — Site with Irano-Buddhist paintings some 80 miles north of Bamiyan, marking the furthest extension eastwards of official Sassanian art . . . . . *p.* 318 *fig.* 427

DUKKAN-I-DAUD — Median rock tomb near the modern town of Sarpul-i-Zohab (western Iran), on the road from Baghdad to Kermanshah. . *p.* 27

DURA EUROPOS — Ancient city of Syria on the right bank of the Euphrates, excavated since 1922. Founded as a Macedonian colony by Seleucus Nicator (c. 280 B.C.), it was taken by the Parthians at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. Conquered by the Romans under Commodus (A.D. 165), it remained a Roman outpost until its capture and destruction by Shapur I (256). *p.* 1, 11, 36, 37, 47, 50, 53, 75, 98, 109, 117, 139, 183, 261, 264, 265, 268, 273, 285, 287, 337 *fig.* 59, 62, 63, 127, 223, 367

ECBATANA — The modern city of Hamadan (western Iran). Capital of the Median, then of the Achaemenian kingdom, and summer capital of the Parthians. *p.* 18, 24, 33, 37 *fig.* 52(b)

ECHMIADZIN — Ancient Armenian monastery with a famous cathedral, some 12 miles west of Erivan (Russian Transcaucasia) and 40 miles north of Mount Ararat (in Turkey). Has a large library and a printing plant . . . . . *p.* 290, 294

EDESSA — Ancient city of northern Mesopotamia (present-day Urfa, in Turkey). Capital of Osrhoene, seat of an independent kingdom (137 B.C.-A.D. 216), and centre of the Nestorian Christians of Persia. *p.* 295

EDLINGTON (Yorkshire) — English church with tympanum of Eastern inspiration . . . . . *p.* 298

EIWAN-I-KERKHA — Town built by Shapur II (A.D. 309-379) after the destruction of Susa, a few miles upstream on the river Kerkha (Choaspes). *p.* 180, 181, 183, 226, 252, 289 *fig.* 221, 368

ELAM — Ancient kingdom (now western Iran) including the plain of Susiana and the Zagros mountains bordering it. Its conquests extended as far as Isfahan on the east and Babylon on the west. Fell to Assurbanipal (c. 640 B.C.) and thereafter declined . *p.* 284

ELAMITES — A people of Asiatic or 'Zagro-Elamite' origin belonging neither to the Semitic nor to the Indo-European language group. Some scholars assign them to the group of peoples speaking Caucasian languages. . *p.* 37, 75, 110, 112, 170, 238, 269

ELYMAIS — An ill-defined kingdom of the Seleucid and Parthian periods, presumably situated in the Bakhtiari mountains, south-east of the plain of Susiana, and possibly extending for a time as far as Susa. *p.* 21, 54, 87 *fig.* 68

EPHESUS — City of Asia Minor on the Aegean Sea where several Church Councils were held. The Council of 431 put an end to the Nestorian controversy, reaffirming that Christ was but a single person with two natures and that Mary was really the Mother of God . . . . . *p.* 293

EPHTHALITES — A people of Iranian or Turco-Mongolian origin, referred to by early writers as 'White Huns.' They succeeded the Kushans whose kingdom, under the Ephthalites, from the late 4th century A.D. on, extended from the eastern frontier of Iran to India. . . . . *p.* 120, 248, 326

ERDMANN (K.) — German archaeologist. *p.* 193, 222

ERGHILI — Ancient capital of the satrapy of Phrygia (Dascylion) . . . . . *p.* 42

EUPHRATES — One of the two great rivers of Mesopotamia, flowing into the Persian Gulf. *p.* 2, 12, 17, 33, 47, 69, 121, 257, 280, 287, 291, 337

EURIPIDES — Greek tragic poet (c. 480-407/406 B.C.). The subjects of his dramas were known in Iran and inspired the scenes on a group of silver cups in the Hellenistic style but of Greco-Iranian workmanship. *p.* 277 *fig.* 357-360

FARS — Province of south-western Persia, bounded on the south and west by the Persian Gulf, where the most brilliant civilizations of Iran, those of the Achaemenians and Sassanians, took their rise, and where most of their extant monuments are to be found. *p.* 54, 119, 121, 122, 139, 151, 176, 181, 190, 286 *fig.* 128

FERUER — Image of Ormuzd placed in front of the fire altar. . . . . *fig.* 317, 320, 323, 325, 328

FIRDAUSI — Persian poet (933-1021 or 1025), author of the *Shah-nama* or 'Book of Kings,' an epic poem in nearly 60,000 verses . . . . . *p.* 200, 240

FIRUZABAD (GOR) — A town in the province of Fars (Persis) founded by Ardashir I, first king of the Sassanid dynasty. *p.* 35, 123, 125, 126, 133, 139, 179, 181, 185, 284, 286, 291 *fig.* 159-167

FOSTAT — Ancient Egyptian town, now forming part of Cairo, excavated by the Arab Museum. . *p.* 336

FOUCHER (Alfred) — French historian (1865-1952), specialist in Buddhist art and iconography *p.* 3, 261, 317

FRATADARA — 'Fire guardians,' a title borne by the princes of Persis under the Seleucids and superseded under the Parthians by that of *Shah*. . . . *p.* 122

FUNDUKISTAN — Site in Afghanistan (Ghorband) *p.* 321 *fig.* 430

GANAGOBIE (Basses-Alpes) — Town in south-eastern France, with mosaic pavements in the nave and presbytery of the church, showing knights fighting dragons, centaurs and similar animals. Dated by an inscription to the first half of the 12th century. *p.* 307

GANDHARA — Ancient state on the confines of India and Afghanistan, in the neighbourhood of Peshawar (West Pakistan). The art of Gandhara flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era, and spread to eastern Turkestan, then into eastern Asia. *p.* 2, 3, 4, 261, 268, 272, 274, 278, 280 *fig.* 5, 6, 16

GANGES — A great river of northern India, rising in the Himalayas and flowing into the Bay of Bengal. *p.* 2, 5, 12, 16

GELLONE SACRAMENTARY — An illuminated manuscript of the late 8th century (MS lat. 12048, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) . . . . . *p.* 297

GEORGIA — An ancient kingdom of western Transcaucasia brought under the sway of the Arsacid and Sassanid dynasties of Persia. Christianized in the late 3rd century. Now the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic (U.S.S.R.), capital Tiflis . . *p.* 299, 300

GERMIGNY-DES-PRÉS (Loiret) — The church of Germigny-des-Prés, some nine miles from Orléans, near the great abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, was built between 799 and 818 by Theodulf, one of the leading churchmen of Charlemagne's court. The history of the building has been elucidated by the excavations of 1930. All that remains of the original decorations are the great mosaic in the apse and stucco fragments and stone carvings in the museum at Orléans . . . . . *p.* 290 *fig.* 371, 372

GHAZNI (or GHAZNA) — Town in central Afghanistan, on the road between Kandahar and Kabul. Built under the Sassanians, it became in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. the capital of the Ghaznivid dynasty, which took its name from the town. . . . *p.* 301, 318

GODARD (André) — French archaeologist (b. 1881) *p.* 317

GOLDEN LEGEND — A collection of saints' lives, one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages, written by an Italian prelate, Jacopo da Voragine (c. 1230-1298/99) . . . . . *p.* 295

GORDIAN III — Roman emperor (238-244), murdered by mutinous soldiers during a campaign against the Persians. On the bas-reliefs of Shapur I, he is represented prostrate under the hoofs of the Persian king's horse. . *p.* 149, 152, 159, 160, 286 *fig.* 199, 203

GORGAN (GURGAN) — Town in north-eastern Iran, near the Caspian Sea . . . . . *p.* 336

GOTARZES II — King of the Arsacid dynasty (A.D. c. 38-51). Bas-relief at Bisutun . . *p.* 51, 126, 264

GOTHS — A Germanic people from Scandinavia who settled on the banks of the Vistula in the 1st century B.C. and on the shores of the Black Sea in the 3rd century A.D. . . . . *p.* 261

GOUYUM — Village in the province of Fars, about 20 miles from Shiraz on the road to Ardakan. A bas-relief of Bahram II was discovered here in the summer of 1957 . . . . . *p.* 176

GRAFFITI — Casual inscriptions, rude drawings and markings on ancient buildings (e.g. at Assur and Dura Europos) . . *p.* 50, 75, 261, 264, 265, 275 *fig.* 63

GROUSSET (René) — French orientalist and historian (1885-1952) . . . . . *p.* 17, 323

GRYLLI — Figures on intaglios and gems regarded as possessing a prophylactic value. They usually represent various types of human and animal heads combined into a single grotesque or fantastic figure. A number of seal impressions taken from such gems, and dating to the Achaemenian period, have been found at Ur . . . . . *p.* 243 *fig.* 301

GUNDESHAPUR — Ancient town some 20 miles east of Susa where Shapur I settled the Roman prisoners from the army of the emperor Valerian. Over a mile long and half a mile wide, the town had the plan of a Roman military camp. . . . . *p.* 135, 226

GÜNTHER — Bishop of Bamberg (1057-65). At Constantinople, on his way home from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1064-65), he presumably acquired the strip of Byzantine silk of the early 11th century which, about 1840, was found in his tomb in Bamberg Cathedral . . . . . *p.* 314 *fig.* 423

GUPTA ART — The art of the Gupta period (A.D. 320-600), one of the great epochs of Indian civilization, seen at its best in the wall paintings at Ajanta and the statues at Mathura . . . . . *p.* 214

HABUL — A town in Georgia with an abbey, dating to the 10th or 11th century, which was explored in 1917 by the Takaishvili expedition . . . . . *p.* 301

HACKIN (Joseph) — French orientalist and archaeologist (1886-1941). . . . . *p.* 317, 319, 321, 329

HADES — God of the Underworld. Stern and pitiless, he was the most hated and feared of all the Greek gods. With his sceptre he ruled the shades in the infernal regions. His attribute was Cerberus. *p.* 87

HADGARDUKHT — Lady of the Sassanian nobility *p.* 241 *fig.* 294

HAHPAT GOSPEL BOOK — An Armenian manuscript of the 11th century now in the Erivan Museum (MS 207). The composition of the frontispiece (folio 27) is similar to that of the tympana at Wordwell, Knock and Beauvais (Saint-Etienne). *p.* 300 *fig.* 390

HAMADAN, see ECBATANA.

HAMUN — Lake on the Irano-Afghan frontier. *p.* 41

HAN — Imperial dynasty of China (206 B.C.-220 A.D.). *p.* 112, 258, 259, 266, 280 *fig.* 334, 335(c), 342, 346

HARICH STELE — A funerary stele of the earliest type known in Armenia, dating to the 5th or 6th century. Its iconographic theme, whose prototype is the scene with the goddess Anahita on a capital from Taq-i-Bustan, was transmitted with its variants from Transcaucasia to Western Europe . *p.* 301 *fig.* 396

HARUN AL-RASHID — The most famous Abbasid caliph (786-809) of Baghdad and hero of many of the stories in the *Thousand and One Nights*. Traditionally supposed to have maintained relations and exchanged gifts with Charlemagne . . . . . *p.* 205

HATRA — Capital of a small kingdom in Northern Mesopotamia, near Mosul. Extensive ruins of the 2nd century A.D. *p.* 1, 11, 35-37, 45, 85, 87, 89, 90, 100, 117, 186, 272, 273, 278, 338 *fig.* 1, 2, 48-51, 53, 97-106, 110, 356(b)

HAURAN — Desert plateau in Syria, south of Damascus and east of the river Jordan. The 'Auranitide' of the Ancients. . . . . *p.* 289

HECATOMPYLOS — A city in Hyrcania (present-day Damghan), one of the capitals of the Parthians *p.* 33

HELMAND — A river that rises in the Koh-i-Baba mountains of central Afghanistan, flows through Seistan and empties into Lake Hamun. . . . *p.* 121

HERAKLES (HERCULES) — One of the great gods and heroes of Greek mythology, son of Zeus and Alcmene, famous for his Twelve Labours. Identified in the East with Verethragna
p. 29, 57, 102, 103, 243, 277 *fig.* 76, 79, 116

HERBAD — Fire priest in the Sassanian religion. . . *p.* 121

HERODOTUS — Greek historian (c. 484-425 B.C.), called the Father of History, who travelled widely in Asia, Africa and Europe, gathering material for the *History* that occupied him all his life. . . *p.* 16, 85

HERZFELD (Ernst) — German orientalist and archaeologist (1879-1948) . . . . . *p.* 45, 190, 193

HIAO-T'ANG-SHAN — Site in the Shantung province of eastern China where some carved funerary slabs have been found . . . . . *p.* 264

HINAYANA ('Little Vehicle') — Name given to the stricter Buddhist tradition of the earliest times, in contradistinction to Mahayana ('Great Vehicle'), the popular religion of later Buddhism which took form about the time the Christian era began. . . *p.* 317

HINDU KUSH — Great mountain range of Central Asia, lying mainly in Afghanistan. . . *p.* 3, 4, 317

HIPPODAMUS — Greek architect and town-planner of the time of Pericles (5th century B.C.). Creator of the rectangular town-plan with broad, straight streets intersecting one another at right angles. *p.* 34, 139

HOM — Sacred plant of the Mazdaean religion (perhaps *psoralea*) . . . . . *fig.* 399, 404, 417, 444

HORMIZD I — King of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 272-273) . . . . . *p.* 209 *fig.* 306

HORMIZD II — King of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 302-309), son of Narsah. A mild and upright ruler, he married a Kushan princess. His reign was followed by a period of internecine strife. *p.* 179 *fig.* 156, 219, 220, 311

HORMIZD III — King of the Sassanid dynasty (c. A.D. 457).

HORMIZD IV — King of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 578-590), son of Chosroes I. . . . *fig.* 323

HORMIZD V — Sassanid king (c. A.D. 631). *fig.* 328

HUNS — A nomadic people of Turco-Mongol origin, who roamed Central Asia to the north and north-west of the Chinese frontier and, it is conjectured, came to form a confederation of tribes by about the 3rd century B.C. In A.D. 375 the Huns invaded South Russia and, under Attila (434-452), a large part of Europe. After Attila's defeat and death, they withdrew, some settling in the Balkans, others in South Russia on the Dnieper. *p.* 16, 116, 222, 261, 326-328

HVARENA — A ray of light manifesting the power of the god Ahuramazda, and a 'glory' emanating from legitimate Aryan kings . . . . . *p.* 229

HYPOGEUM — Underground tomb chamber common in nearly all the lands of the Ancient Near East. . . *p.* 11, 32 *fig.* 4, 90

HYRCANIA — Province of ancient Iran south-east of the Caspian Sea . . . . . *p.* 17

HYRODES, see ORODES I.

INDUS — River rising in the Himalayas, flowing through Kashmir and Pakistan to the Arabian Sea. . . . . *p.* 17, 85, 257

ISFAHAN — City of central Iran, capital of the Safavid dynasty (17th-18th centuries). . . . *p.* 19, 24, 123

ISLAM — The religion of the Moslems, founded by Mohammed in the 7th century A.D. The word is also applied to the whole body of Moslems or to the countries they occupy
p. 150, 228, 245, 248, 338, *fig.* 288, 290

ISTAKHR — Ancient town some four miles from Persepolis, which became the capital of the princes of Persis after Persepolis was burnt down by Alexander.
p. 23, 121, 122, 185, 286 *fig.* 29

ISTAKHRI — Arab geographer of the 10th century. *p.* 286

IWAN — A vaulted hall walled on three sides, with the fourth side open and giving on to a courtyard. The term derives from *apadana*, the Achaemenian hypostyle hall. *p.* 29-30, 32, 36, 123, 136, 139, 140, 148, 181, 183, 189, 193, 252 *fig.* 150, 180-186

JAXARTES — River of Central Asia (the modern Syr Darya), flowing into the Aral Sea. . *p.* 16, 324

JOUARRE (Seine-et-Marne) — Town near Meaux, in northern France, with a Benedictine abbey founded about 634. In the crypt are a series of sculptured tombs dating to Merovingian times *p.* 295 *fig.* 383

JUPITER DOLICHENUS — Deity worshipped at Doliche in Commagene. Adopted by the Roman legionaries, his cult spread all over the Roman Empire of the West in the 2nd century A.D. . *p.* 12

KA'BA-I-ZARDUSHT — Square tower at Naqsh-i-Rustam, actually a fire temple of the Achaemenian period . . . . . *p.* 151

KABUL — Capital of Afghanistan, on the eastern side of the Iranian Plateau. . . . *p.* 139, 317, 321, 334

KAKRAK — Site in Afghanistan, near Bamiyan, with ancient frescoes in the Irano-Buddhist style (3rd-5th centuries A.D.). . . . . *p.* 317, 318, 329

KANISHKA — Indo-Scythian king of the Kushan dynasty (A.D. c. 144-172). His coins and his monuments at Surkh Kotal testify to the official status of Greco-Bactrian art . . *p.* 2, 269, 317 *fig.* 8, 350

KAO-TSUNG — Chinese emperor of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 650-683), son and successor of T'ai-tsung
p. 326

KAPICI, see BEGRAM.

KARA BALGHASUN — Capital of the Uighur empire on the upper Orkhon . . . . . *p.* 327

KARA KUM — Great desert in Turkmenistan (Russian Central Asia) . . . . . *p.* 29

KARTIR — Zoroastrian priest of the 3rd century A.D. *p.* 284

KARUN — The only navigable river of Iran (the ancient Pasitigris), flowing into the Shatt el-Arab. . *fig.* 174

KARZH — Town in Georgia. Inscriptions date the tympanum of the church to the reign of Bagrat IV (1027-1072) . . . . . *p.* 300 *fig.* 389

KASR-I-SHIRIN — Ruins of a Sassanian palace and fire temple built by Chosroes II (A.D. 590-628), near the modern town of this name on the road from Baghdad to Kermanshah . . . . . *p.* 200

KAVAD I — King of the Sassanid dynasty (reigned A.D. 488-496 and 499-531). . *p.* 189, 226, 241 *fig.* 293, 319

KAVAD II — King of the Sassanid dynasty, son and successor of Chosroes II. Reigned only six months (A.D. 628). . . . . *fig.* 228

KENGAVAR — Village in Kurdistan, between Kermanshah and Hamadan, with vestiges of a Seleucid temple dedicated to Anahita . . . *p.* 24 *fig.* 30, 31

KERCH — Town in the Crimea, a Black Sea port on the Strait of Kerch or Yenikale, standing on the site of the ancient Panticapaeum founded by ancient Greek colonists . . . . . *p.* 321 *fig.* 341

KERKHA — The longest river in Iran, rising in the Kermanshah region (where it is called the Gamasab), flowing across Luristan (where it is called the Seinmerreh) and issuing from the mountains into the plain of Susiana (where it takes the name of Kerkha). Once a tributary of the Tigris, it now dies out in the Havisa swamps . . . . . *p.* 180

KERMAN — Town in the province of the same name, in south-eastern Iran . . . . . *p.* 123

KERMANSHAH — Town in the province of Kurdistan. *p.* 18, 24, 190, 252

KHAN — 'Lord' or 'prince' ruling over the Turkish or Mongol nomads of Central Asia . . . . *p.* 326

KHANATE — Region under the authority of a khan. *p.* 326

KHARG — Island in the Persian Gulf . . *p.* 288, 289

KHORASAN — Province of eastern Iran whose limits have varied much in the course of history *p.* 17, 232, 339

KHURKHA — Village near the road from Teheran to Isfahan, with vestiges of a Seleucid temple *p.* 24, 25 *fig.* 32

KHUZISTAN — Province of south-western Iran, the ancient Susiana, which formed the heart of the ancient Elamite kingdom. . . . *p.* 54, 137 *fig.* 174

KHWASAK — Satrap of Susa under the Parthian king Artabanus V (A.D. c. 213-224). Represented on a bas-relief found at Susa, with an inscription in Pahlavi-Parthian. . . . . *p.* 56 *fig.* 70

KIRGHIZ — A nomad people on the steppes of the Yenisei . . . . . *p.* 127 *fig.* 437

KISH (AL 'OHEIMIR) — Site in Babylonia, east of Babylon, with a palace of the Sassanian period. . . *p.* 181, 186, 189 *fig.* 228, 230

KIZIL — Site in Central Asia (northern Kashgaria) with cave paintings (5th-8th centuries A.D.) showing Indian-Gupta and Irano-Sassanian strains. *p.* 318-321, 329 *fig.* 428, 429

KNOOK (Wiltshire) — English church with tympanum of Eastern inspiration . . . . . *p.* 300

KOINE — A common style, or artistic 'lingua franca,' obtaining over a large area. *p.* 5, 116, 117, 257-280, 283

KONDO TEMPLE — At the Horyu-ji, Nara (Japan), with frescoes in a style deriving from the art of the Tarim basin . . . . . *p.* 329, 330

KOPENI TREASURE — Kirghiz treasure discovered at Kopeni (Eastern Siberia), a village some 200 miles south-west of Krasnoyarsk . . . . . *p.* 327, 328

KORYMBOS — A sphere surmounting the headdress of Sassanid kings, and composed of hair bunched up and wrapped in a cloth of very light silk. *p.* 126, 131, 133, 245 *fig.* 305-310, 312-313, 315-320, 323, 326

KUBACHI — Town in Daghestan (now U.S.S.R.), explored in 1924 by Bashkiroff and Jajovloff, with sculptures dating to the 12th century, the period when the political and economic development of the region was at its height. *p.* 300, 301 *fig.* 363, 394

KUBAN — A province of Ciscaucasia and the name of a river flowing through it into the Black Sea. . . *p.* 272, 327

KUCHA — Town in Chinese Turkestan . *p.* 318, 319, 321 *fig.* 428

KUH-I-KHWAJA — Island in the middle of Lake Hamun in Seistan, with vestiges of a palace, probably a governor's residence under the Parthians and Sassanians . . . *p.* 36, 37, 41, 42, 101, 117 *fig.* 54-58

KUMARAJIVA — Buddhist priest (A.D. 344-413), of Indian origin, who lived at Kucha (Chinese Turkestan) until 382-383, when the Chinese general Lu Kuang, after invading the region, took him to China where he helped to establish Buddhism. *p.* 318

KUNDUZ — Town in Afghan Turkestan . . . *p.* 326

KURDISTAN — Region north of Luristan, including the mountains and valleys of the northern Zagros. Through southern Kurdistan winds the ancient caravan route, along which are to be found most of the monuments of ancient Iran, erected by the Elamites, Medians (?), Achaemenians, Seleucids, Parthians and Sassanians. Aptly called 'the Gateway of Asia' by Ernst Herzfeld . . . . . *p.* 180

KURDZIPS — Site in the Kuban province of Ciscaucasia . . . . . *fig.* 354

KUSHANS — A people of Iranian origin who in the 1st century A.D. ruled over a vast empire, including present-day Afghanistan, most of India, and part of Russian and Chinese Turkestan. *p.* 2-5, 16, 17, 33, 120, 133, 134, 184, 185, 193, 226, 248, 252, 257, 259, 261, 317

KUTAIS — Town in Georgia, founded A.D. 806 by King Leo II, probably on the site of the ancient capital (Aea or Kutaea) of Colchis. The cathedral dates from the time of Bagrat III (978-1014), the most brilliant period in the town's history . . . . . *p.* 301

LANGOTI — Traditional Indian loin-cloth worn by Bodhisattvas in Oriental painting, and often decorated with designs of Sassanian origin . . . . . *p.* 329

LAODICEA, see NIHAWAND.

LARISTAN — Province of southern Iran, bounded on the south by the Persian Gulf.

LE MANS (Sarthe) — Town in north-western France rich in historic monuments. In the Romanesque church of Notre-Dame de la Couture is preserved a piece of silk with designs of Sassanian inspiration. *p.* 313 *fig.* 419

LESCAR (Basses-Pyrénées) — Town near Pau in south-western France, on the site of the Gallo-Roman town of Beneharnum destroyed by the Saracens. Curious mosaic pavement in the choir of the cathedral (second half of the 12th century) . . . . . *p.* 307 *fig.* 407

LESENES — Vertical bands or pilasters designed to strengthen walls, used from the earliest time (e.g. by Sassanian architects at Firuzabad). From these are derived the external ornaments of Romanesque churches known as *bandes lombardes:* pilaster strips forming at the top of the wall the apparent support of a row of shallow round arches. In time the pilaster strips disappeared and the arches rested on consoles. *p.* 291 *fig.* 373, 374

LIMOGES (Haute-Vienne) — Town in south-central France. Sculptures from the great Romanesque church of Saint-Martial (destroyed). . . . *p.* 301

LOGOS — In the philosophy of Plato, God as the source of ideas; in Neo-Platonism, one of the aspects of the divinity; in Christian theology, identified with Jesus Christ . . . . . *p.* 295

LO-YANG — The old name of Ho-nan Fu, the ancient capital of China, in Ho-nan province . . . *p.* 326

LURISTAN — Mountainous province in the Zagros range, in eastern Iran, famous for the bronzes found there. *p.* 6, 7, 37, 47, 87, 104, 116, 146, 150, 213, 229, 258, 261, 265, 272, 273, 280, 298, 299, 303 *fig.* 11, 12, 111, 330, 331, 336(b)

MACEDON — Ancient country in the Balkan peninsula, north of Greece, hellenized from about the 7th century B.C. on. Under Philip II (359-336 B.C.) it asserted its predominance over the Greek city-states, and his son, Alexander the Great (334-323), conquered a large part of the Oriental world. *p.* 15, 104, 116, 339

MAIKOP — Site in the Kuban province (north Caucasus) famous for the barrow discovered here, dating to the 3rd millennium B.C. and containing silver-plate and copper tools . . . . . *fig.* 353

MALE (Émile) — French art historian (1862-1954) *p.* 293, 307

MANDYLION OF EDESSA — The Holy Face, a cloth with the imprint of Christ's features, brought to Abgar, King of Edessa, after the Crucifixion, and taken to Constantinople in 944, where it was kept in the Palace of Bucoleon . . . . . *p.* 296

MANI (A.D. 215-277) — Persian prophet and founder of Manichaeism . . . . . *p.* 135, 165, 326

MANICHAEISM — A religious doctrine combining Mazdaean dualism with the Gnostic tradition of the Christian communities of the Lower Euphrates. . . *p.* 121, 135, 284, 326, 328, 329 *fig.* 439

MARGIANA — Province of the Persian, then of the Parthian Empire, situated south-west of Bactria and west of Parthyene proper. Capital, Merv. . *p.* 34

MARIGNY (Calvados) — French village about four miles from Bayeux. The Romanesque sculptures of the church portal (confronted animals on the tympanum and flattened heads on the archivolt) are reminiscent of those at Kubachi (Daghestan). *p.* 300

MARTVILI — Town in Georgia. Reliefs and friezes in the west apse of the church which, according to the Annals of Georgia, was built by King George II of Abkhasia (912-957); some archaeologists, however, date it to the 7th century . . . . *p.* 301 *fig.* 393

MASSAGETAE — Confederation of nomad hordes east of the Caspian. . . . . *p.* 16

MASSON (M.-E.) — Soviet archaeologist (b. 1897) *p.* 30

MAS'UDI — Moslem historian of the 10th century, whose writings provide us with precious information about the Sassanians. His chief works are the *Meadows of Gold* and the *Book of Indication and Revision* . *p.* 286

MAT (Temple of) — Near Mathura . . . . . *p.* 5

MATHURA — Modern Muttra, south of New Delhi. *p.* 2, 5, 269, 280

MAZDAEISM — The religion of the Iranians, revealed by Ormuzd to the prophet Zoroaster and formulated in the *Avesta* . . . . . *p.* 121, 166, 305, 326

MAZDAK — Persian heresiarch who about A.D. 495 preached a new religion imbued with humanitarian ideas . . . . . *p.* 121

MEDIA — Ancient country of western Iran, extending north to the Elburz range, east to the central desert of the Plateau, and to the Zagros mountains in the west and south. Capital, Ecbatana . *p.* 16, 25, 67, 258, 284

MEDIA ATROPATENE — The northern part of Media (present-day Azerbaijan) which, following the partition of Alexander's empire, became an independent kingdom . . . . . *p.* 35, 87

MEGARIAN BOWLS — From Megara (Greece) on the isthmus of Corinth . . . . . *p.* 274

MERLON — The solid part of an embattled parapet between the embrasures. . . . . *p.* 29, 41, 206

MEROVINGIAN ART — The art of Western Europe (France, Spain and north Italy) in the time of the Merovingians, i.e. the dynasty of Frankish kings (481-751) founded by Clovis I. *p.* 261, 270, 298, 307

MERV — City in Russian Turkestan on the southern edge of the Kara Kum desert, known in antiquity as Antiochia Margiana . . . . . *p.* 33, 34 *fig.* 46

METOPE — The space between the dentils of a cornice or between the triglyphs of a frieze. . *p.* 29, 308

MINUSSINSK — Town and region on the middle Yenisei, in southern Siberia. *p.* 327, 328 *fig.* 354(b)

MIRAMAS (Bouches-du-Rhône) — French town near Aix-en-Provence, with Romanesque church of Saint-Julien-le-Vieux . . . . . *p.* 293

MITHRAISM, see MITHRAS.

MITHRAS — Persian god of light, of contracts, and of justice, mediator between Ahuramazda and Ahriman. Assisted by Sraosha and Rashnu, he judged the souls of the dead. His cult spread throughout the Roman world, along the Rhine and Danube, and even to Brittany. Mithraism gradually gave way to Christianity but only after long resistance. Mithraic symbolism is illustrated on many surviving monuments. *p.* 2, 12, 57, 66, 87, 166, 190, 191, 193, 229, 243, 245, 294, 323 *fig.* 3, 74, 80, 298

MITHRIDATES I — Parthian king (c. 171-138/-137 B.C.) who 'liberated' Iran from the Seleucids and stabilized its western frontier on the Euphrates. In 138 he defeated Demetrius Nicator, King of Syria, and took him prisoner. . . *p.* 21, 87 *fig.* 135, 136

MITHRIDATES II — Parthian king (c. 123-88/87 B.C.) who checked the invasion of the Sacae from the east, consolidated and re-organized the kingdom, and made Iran a world power. In his reign the Persians first came into contact with the Romans (under Sulla, in 92 B.C.). *p.* 17, 18, 33, 51, 110, 131 *fig.* 64, 65, 130, 137

MITHRIDATES III — Parthian king (c. 57 B.C.). After having his father Phraates III assassinated, he was driven from the throne by his brother Orodes. *fig.* 140

MOBED — One of the higher dignitaries of the ecclesiastic hierarchy who, under the Sassanians, became the official priests of the Zoroastrian religion. *p.* 121

MOISSAC (Tarn-et-Garonne) — Town in south-western France, near Montauban, with the famous abbey church of Saint-Pierre whose portal and cloister rank among the masterpieces of Romanesque art . . . . . *p.* 294, 303, 305 *fig.* 403

MONGOLIA — Vast desert plateau or steppe of inner Asia, centring on the Gobi Desert (the *Sha-mo* of the Chinese) . . . . . *p.* 109, 258, 280, 326, 327

MONTSERRAT, see SANTA CECILIA DE MONTSERRAT.

MOZAC or MOZAT (Puy-de-Dôme) — Town in south-central France, near Riom, with ruins of a Benedictine abbey founded in the 7th century, whose chapel serves as the town church (12th century). It once owned an historiated Byzantine silk (now in the Musée des Tissus, Lyons) which is usually dated to the 8th century; but André Grabar, in comparing it with the Bamberg silk of the 11th century, has made out a strong case for regarding it as a 10th- or 11th century imitation of a work of the 6th or 7th century. *p.* 314 *fig.* 421

MUDAN CAVE — Cave near Bishapur (Fars) with colossal statue of the Sassanid king Shapur I (A.D. 241-272) . . . . . *fig.* 207, 209

MUSA — Wife of the Parthian king Phraates IV (c. 38-2 B.C.) and mother of King Phraataces (Phraates V) (2 B.C.-A.D.4). An Italian slave girl, she had been sent as a present to Phraates IV by the emperor Augustus. After her husband's death, Musa married her son . . . . . *p.* 96

NAGYSZENTMIKLÓS TREASURE — Treasure-hoard discovered at Nagyszentmiklós, Hungary (now Rumania), a town about midway between Szeged and Timisoara . . . . . *p.* 328

NANAIA — Oriental goddess identified with Artemis *p.* 103

NAPKI COINS . . . . . *p.* 317, 318

NAQSH-I-BAHRAM — A rock north-west of Bishapur (Fars) with the Sassanian bas-relief of Bahram II. *p.* 173 *fig.* 214

NAQSH-I-RAJAB — A rock some three miles north of Persepolis with bas-reliefs of Ardashir I and Shapur I. *fig.* 339

NAQSH-I-RUSTAM — An ancient site some four miles north of Persepolis, with four rock tombs of Achaemenid kings and some Sassanian bas-reliefs cut into the cliff; opposite these stand a fire temple and two fire altars. *p.* 25, 133, 151, 160, 170, 173, 176, 179, 262, 294 *fig.* 15, 156-158, 168, 171, 204, 205, 212-214, 218-220, 338, 379

NARA — An ancient city of Japan (Honshu), capital of the country from 710 to 784. The Imperial Treasure of the Shoso-in, originally the central storehouse of the Todai-ji temple, contains thousands of works of 8th century art; the nucleus of the collection was donated in 756 by the Empress Komyo in memory of her husband, the emperor Shomu (701-756). *p.* 230, 329, 330, 333 *fig.* 442-445

NARSAH — King of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 293-302), son of Shapur I and great-uncle of the young king Bahram III whom he deposed after a reign of four months. Narsah's revolt and victory are related in his great inscription at Paikuli; his divine investiture is depicted on the rock-face at Naqsh-i-Rustam. . . *p.* 176, 179, 180, 186, 190 *fig.* 15, 120, 218, 310

NEREDITSA — Town in north-west Russia, near Novgorod, with Church of the Holy Saviour containing 12th-century frescoes. . . . . *fig.* 384

NERGAL — Babylonian god of the underworld. His animal attribute was the bull, symbol of vigour and aggressive energy . . . . . *p.* 87 *fig.* 98

NERO — Roman emperor (54-68) . . . . . *p.* 85

NESTORIANISM — The heretical doctrine of Nestorius (c. 380-c. 440), patriarch of Constantinople, who distinguished two complete persons in Christ, one human, the other divine, and objected to calling the Virgin Mary the Mother of God. *p.* 295, 296, 328, 329 *fig.* 440

NIHAWAND — Town in Iran (the ancient Laodicea), some 60 miles south of Hamadan, with remains of a Hellenistic temple. About 10 miles away is the prehistoric site of Tepe Giyan. The decisive battle between the armies of Yazdgard III, last Sassanid king, and the Arab conquerors took place in the plain of Nihawand in A.D. 642. *p.* 18, 101 *fig.* 23, 24, 112, 114

NIMRUD DAGH — Mountain in the ancient kingdom of Commagene (Northern Syria) where King Antiochus I (69-34 B.C.) erected a monumental tomb. . . *p.* 12, 57-69, 117, 337 *fig.* 18, 71-80

NINEVEH (KUYUNJIK) — Ancient city on the left bank of the Tigris, opposite Mosul (Iraq). One of the capitals of the Assyrian kingdom, famous for the palaces of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (668-631 B.C.) . . . *p.* 229, 233 *fig.* 392

NIPPUR — An ancient city of Mesopotamia, situated on both sides of a former bed of the Euphrates, almost 100 miles south-east of Baghdad. . *p.* 100, 272 *fig.* 112

NIZAMABAD — A site near Varamin, south-east of Teheran, where some Sassanian stuccoes have been found . . . . . *p.* 186 *fig.* 227

NOIN ULA — A site in Northern Mongolia, 40 miles north of Urga, with barrows containing the tombs of Hunnish chieftains of the 1st century A.D.. *p.* 109, 258 *fig.* 126, 332

NOVOCHERKASSK — Russian city on the Lower Don . . . . . *p.* 273 *fig.* 356(a)

NURABAD — Town in the province of Fars, on the road from Bishapur to Fahlian. . *p.* 110 *fig.* 33

NYSA — The first Parthian capital, on the western edge of the Kara Kum desert, north-east of the modern city of Ashkhabad (Soviet Turkmenistan), at the foot of the Kopet Dag mountains. *p.* 5, 29-32, 36, 37, 45, 101, 110, 111, 117, 140, 193, 272, 273, 324, 337 *fig.* 37-42

NYSA — The region where, according to Greek mythology, Dionysus, after being banished from Olympus, was raised by Silenus and the Muses. Its location is a matter of conjecture. . . . . *p.* 18

OLBIA — Greek colony on the north coast of the Black Sea, between the mouths of the Dnieper and the Bug . . . . . *p.* 268 *fig.* 348, 351, 352

OMPHALOS — The round central boss of a dish, a shield or a chariot wheel. . *p.* 265 *fig.* 114(b), 137

ORKHON — A river of northern Asia, rising in the Khangai mountains of Mongolia and flowing into the Selenga River. . . . . *p.* 326, 327

ORMUZD — Later Iranian form of the name Ahuramazda, god of goodness and light.

ORODES I (HYRODES) — Parthian king (c. 56-36 B.C.) who defeated Crassus at Carrhae (53 B.C.) *p.* 185, 277

ORODES II — Parthian king (A.D. 4-6). *p.* 96 *fig.* 144

OSHK — Town in Georgia (U.S.S.R.) with abbey church of the 10th-11th centuries. *p.* 301 *fig.* 392

OSROES — Parthian king (A.D. 106/7-130?). *fig.* 350

OXUS — River of Central Asia (modern name Amu Darya), rising in the Pamirs and flowing into the Aral Sea. Now forms the frontier between Afghanistan and the U.S.S.R. *p.* 5, 27, 33, 232, 241, 265, 268, 277, 280, 284, 322, 324, 326

PAHLAVI — The language of ancient Persia under the Parthians and Sassanians *p.* 101, 133, 151, 189, 221, 223, 242 *fig.* 265

PAIKULI — Locality in the province of Kurdistan, north of Kermanshah, with remains of a monument erected by the Sassanid king Narsah (A.D. 293-302). *p.* 186

PALMYRA — An ancient city of Syria (the Biblical Tadmor) in an oasis between Damascus and the Euphrates, some 85 miles east of Homs. An important mart on the caravan route and centre of Greco-Oriental art under strong Parthian influence. The Palmyrene pantheon is characterized by a marked tendency towards syncretism. *p.* 1, 11, 32, 47, 69-76, 85, 100, 109, 117, 269, 272, 273, 278, 337 *fig.* 4, 10, 13, 43, 81, 83-96, 349

PANTICAPAEUM — A Greek colony on the Black Sea, on the site of the modern Kerch (eastern Crimea), founded by the Milesians in 541 B.C. It became the residence of the Greek kings of the Bosphorus. *p.* 264, 265, 268, 321 *fig.* 341

PARÇAY-SUR-VIENNE (Indre-et-Loire) — Town near Chinon, in central France, with a Romanesque church (12th century) . . . . . *p.* 298

PARNI — Nomad tribe of Iranian origin, forming part of the confederation of the Dahae, from which it broke away about 250 B.C. to invade Seleucid Iran, occupying Nicaea (250), Parthia (238) and Hyrcania (235). Arsaces, founder of the Parthian dynasty which ruled Iran until the rise of the Sassanids, was a chieftain of this tribe . . . . . *p.* 16, 17

PARTHIA — Province of Persia south-east of the Caspian Sea. During the reign of the Parthian dynasty the name was applied to the whole of Persia. *p.* 337

PARTHIANS — Nomad tribe of Iranian origin, forming part of the confederation of the Dahae. The Arsacids were the reigning dynasty of Parthia (c. 250 B.C.-A.D. 224). *p.* 1-3, 5, 6, 7-9, 10-117, 123, 124, 131, 146, 149, 165, 173, 222, 247, 252, 257-280, 283-285, 324, 337 *fig.* 20, 35, 108, 119, 120, 122, 123, 130, 132, 134, 340

PASARGADAE — Achaemenian capital in the province of Fars, built by Cyrus the Great (559-530 B.C.). *p.* 25, 122

PAVIA (Lombardy) — Romanesque church of San Michele Maggiore, with fine portal and reliefs *p.* 301

PAZYRYK — Site in the Altai mountains, southern Siberia, where richly furnished tombs of nomad princes dating to the period immediately preceding the Christian era, have been brought to light. . . . *p.* 258, 259

PÉBRAC (Haute-Loire) — Town in Auvergne, near Brioude. The church contains a Moslem silk of the late 10th or early 11th century evidencing the relations then existing between Le Puy and Arab Spain. Commenting on the views expressed by Aymard *(Annales de la Société Académique du Puy*, XXI*)* regarding this 'cope', Louis Bréhier pointed out *(Almanach de Brioude*, 1936*)* that the material was not cut to serve as an ecclesiastical vestment . . . . *p.* 313 *fig.* 418

PELLIOT (Paul) — French archaeologist and Chinese scholar (1878-1945). . . . . *p.* 233

PERM — City in the western foothills of the Urals (U.S.S.R.) . . . . . *fig.* 343

PEROZ — Sassanid king (A.D. 457-484), youngest son of Yazdgard II. Famed for his deep religious feeling and knowledge of the tenets of Mazdaeism, also for the measures he took to remedy a famine lasting several years. His reign was marked by religious conflicts between Nestorians and Monophysites and continued persecution of the Jews. His ill-advised campaigns against the Ephthalites brought the empire to the brink of ruin. *p.* 187, 193, 213, 245, 248, 295 *fig.* 229, 235, 318

PERSEPOLIS — Capital of the Achaemenian Empire, founded by Darius I (521-486 B.C.) not far from Pasargadae in the province of Fars. *p.* 7, 24-26, 57, 66, 75, 122, 124, 148, 149, 182, 190, 223, 235, 261, 262, 337 *fig.* 14, 19, 34, 87(b)

PERSIS — The modern province of Fars, in south-west Iran . . *p.* 16, 110, 122, 123, 139, 252 *fig.* 129

PHALERAE — Roman term for metal ornaments fastened to horses' harness, hung on their breasts, heads and cruppers. They were given various forms: disks, acorns, pendants cut in the shape of crescents, having the aspect of medallions adorned with embossed or engraved figures . . . . . *p.* 48 *fig.* 337

PHILIP THE ARAB — Roman emperor (244-249), who came to the throne after the Emperor Gordian's assassination. Was compelled to negotiate a peace with the Sassanid king Shapur I and to ransom the Roman notables taken prisoner by the Persians. Figures on reliefs of Shapur I, kneeling before the King of Kings. *p.* 149, 152, 159, 160, 161, 285, 286, *fig.* 204

PHRAATES I — Parthian king, son of Arsaces III whom he succeeded about 178 B.C.

PHRAATES II — Parthian king, son of Mithridates I, died about 127 B.C.

PHRAATES III — Parthian king (c. 70-57 B.C.), assassinated by his sons Mithridates and Orodes. . . *fig.* 139

PHRAATES IV — Parthian king (c. 38-2 B.C.). Mark Antony invaded Parthia in his reign but was compelled to retreat after losing the bulk of his army. Phraates returned to Augustus the standards and prisoners taken in the wars with Crassus and Mark Antony . . . . . *p.* 96 *fig.* 141

PHRAATES V — Parthian king (2 B.C.-A.D. 4) *fig.* 142

PLUTARCH — Greek historian (A.D. c. 46-c. 120), author of the *Parallel Lives* . . . . . *p.* 277

POLO — Game played on horseback, originated in Asia and played in Persia and the Indian borderlands from the earliest times. . . . *p.* 121, 335 *fig.* 447

POMPEII — Ancient Roman city of Campania, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, buried by an eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. Excavated since the late 18th century, the site has yielded countless monuments and works of art in an excellent state of preservation . . . . . *p.* 272

PONT-L'ABBÉ-D'ARNOULT (Charente-Maritime) — Town in south-western France, some 15 miles from Saintes. The church (12th-15th centuries), with Romanesque sculptures on the portal, is all that remains of the Benedictine abbey founded here in the 11th century . . . . . *p.* 300

PSALIA — Sides of horses' bits. . *p.* 259 *fig.* 336*a*

PUGACHENKOVA (G.A.) — Contemporary Soviet archaeologist . . . . . *p.* 30

PUIG I CADAFALCH (J.) — Catalan architect and art historian (1869-1949) . . . . . *p.* 291

PYANJIKENT — Site in ancient Sogdiana, on the left bank of the Zeravashan, 68 miles from Samarkand (Soviet Tajikistan). . . . . *p.* 323 *fig.* 433

QAGHAN — Noble, princely or imperial title among the Turco-Mongol hordes . . . . . *p.* 326

QAL'A-E-DUKHTAR — Fortified residence built by Ardashir I (A.D. 224-241) near Firuzabad (province of Fars) . . . . . *p.* 123 *fig.* 159

QUM — Town south of Teheran, whose temple is an important pilgrimage centre . . . *p.* 37 *fig.* 52(a)

RAVENNA — Orthodox Baptistery (or Baptistery of Neon) with 6th-century mosaics . . . . . *p.* 292

RAVENNA, EXARCHATE OF — Part of Italy ruled from the late 6th to the mid-8th century by Byzantine governors (exarchs) stationed at Ravenna . . *p.* 290

RHAGAE (RAYY) — Town near Teheran, important in ancient and mediaeval times . . . . . *fig.* 271

RHYTON — Drinking vessel in the form of a horn or an animal's head. *p.* 30, 101, 111, 117, 220, 269 *fig.* 41, 132(b), 169, 262, 263

ROSTOVTZEFF (Michael) — Russian-American orientalist and historian (1870-1952). *p.* 1, 2, 11, 12

ROWLAND (Benjamin) — Contemporary art historian . . . . . *p.* 3

SABAZIUS — Thracian and Phrygian god . . *fig.* 17

SACAE — A Scythian tribe of Chinese Turkestan who joined with the Yueh-chi to conquer the Greco-Bactrian kingdom (130 B.C.). *p.* 16, 17, 33, 259, 265

ST AMON — Second bishop of Toul (Meurthe-et-Moselle) in north-eastern France. Sassanian silk from his reliquary in the church of Saint-Gengoult at Toul, now in the Musée Lorrain, Nancy . *p.* 232

ST ANOTT (or ANNON) — Archbishop of Cologne, founder of the Benedictine abbey of Siegburg (1064). Persian silk found in his reliquary in the church of Siegburg . . . . . *p.* 313

SAINT-BENOIT-SUR-LOIRE (Loiret) — Village in north-central France, about 20 miles east of Orleans, with a great Romanesque church, the only survival of a famous Benedictine monastery founded in the 7th century . . . . . *p.* 301

SAINT-BERTIN — Abbey at Saint-Omer (Pas-de-Calais). 12th-century cross decorated at the base with four enamelled plaques, one of which shows Moses making the same gesture as Ardashir I on the Naqsh-i-Rustam relief (raised right hand with bent forefinger). *p.* 294 *fig.* 381

ST CALAIS — Anchorite of Auvergne who founded the monastery of Anisole (in the Maine province of France) where he died about 552. Venerated in the town of Saint-Calais (Sarthe) where in 1947 the shroud in which his relics were wrapped was found to be a Sassanian textile . . . . . *p.* 227, 235

ST COLUMBA OF SENS (d. 273). *p.* 233 *fig.* 283

SAINT-DENIS (Seine) — Stained-glass medallion (12th century) in the church, with obvious reminiscences of the gesture made by Ardashir I, also observed on the cross of Saint-Bertin. Emile Mâle, in comparing the cross with this medallion, was the first to point out the likelihood of a common origin *p.* 294 *fig.* 382

SAINT-JOSSE (Pas-de-Calais) — Post-Sassanian textile of silk and cotton formerly in the church (now in the Louvre) . . . . . *p.* 312 *fig.* 416

SAINT-LIZIER (Ariège) — Village in south-western France with a cathedral church consecrated in the early 12th century. Two-storey cloister (12th-16th centuries): the capitals of the columns on the ground floor are adorned with interlace patterns and figures, masks, animals and foliage . . . . *p.* 301 *fig.* 397

ST LUPUS OF SENS (d. 627). . . . *p.* 228, 233

SAINT-MARTIN-DU-CANIGOU (Pyrénées-Orientales) — Ruins of an early 11th-century abbey. The church, with nave and side-aisles, but no choir between nave and apse, has a large narthex, a crypt (running the whole length of the upper church), and heavy barrel vaulting . . . . . *p.* 289 *fig.* 370

ST MESME OF CHINON — Disciple of St Martin, who about 440 founded a monastery at Chinon in Touraine. The so-called Cope of St Mesme, preserved in the church of Saint-Etienne at Chinon, is actually of much later date; cut out of an Oriental textile of the 10th or 11th century, it was probably brought back to Chinon by a crusader . . . *p.* 313 *fig.* 417

SAINT-PAPOUL (Hérault) — Town in southern France with a Romanesque church . . . . . *p.* 301

SAINT-PAUL-LES-DAX (Landes) — Town in south-western France with a Romanesque church . *p.* 301

ST PAULA . . . . . *p.* 232-233

SALONICA — Capital of Greek Macedonia and seaport on the Aegean. Byzantine mosaics in the church of St George . . . . . *p.* 308

SAMANIDS — Islamic dynasty of Transoxiana (872-999) which in the 10th century ruled most of Persia. Under the Samanids Bukhara was the intellectual centre of Islam . . . . . *p.* 339

SAMARRA — Town in Iraq, on the east bank of the Tigris, north of Baghdad. Capital of the Abbasid caliphs from 836 to 899 . . . . . *p.* 295, 308, 336

SAN PEDRO DEL BURGAL (Catalonia) — Early Romanesque church . . . . . *fig.* 374

SANTA CECILIA DE MONTSERRAT (Barcelona) — Monastery church consecrated in 957. Half-barrel vaults in the side-aisles running parallel to the barrel vault of the nave. Outer walls of the triple apse decorated with *lesenes* . . . . . *p.* 289

SANTA MARIA D'AMER (Catalonia) — Church consecrated in 949 by Godmar, Bishop of Gerona. Nave and two side-aisles, three altars, smooth barrel vaults, outer walls of the apses decorated with *lesenes*. *p.* 289 *fig.* 369

SAQQARA — Town in Lower Egypt, with ruins of Coptic monasteries having chapels adorned with frescoes. A survival of the Sialk 'masks' figures on a fresco in the monastery of St Jeremias (founded c. 470). . . . . *p.* 296 *fig.* 385

SARI — Town in the province of Mazandaran, between Teheran and the Caspian Sea . . . . *fig.* 248-251

SARMATIANS — A people of Iranian origin who, in the late 3rd and early 2nd century B.C., overran South Russia, driving the Scythians westward. *p.* 16, 17, 109, 185, 222, 257, 260, 261, 272, 273, 280, 298, 321, 328 *fig.* 337, 341

SAR-MESHED — Town in the province of Fars, site of a rock relief representing Bahram II (A.D. 276-293) and his family . . . . . *p.* 173 *fig.* 215-217

SARVISTAN — Village in the province of Fars, with remains of a Sassanian palace. *p.* 181, 289 *fig.* 222

SASSAN — Persian magus, father of Papak whose son was Ardashir I (A.D. 224-241), founder of the Sassanid dynasty . . . . . *p.* 122, 204

SASSANIDS — Ruling dynasty of Persia (A.D. 224-651). *p.* 6, 10, 12, 17, 27, 32, 34, 41, 45, 54, 116, 119-254, 262, 264, 266, 278, 283-342

SCHLUMBERGER (Daniel) — French orientalist and archaeologist (b. 1904) . . . . . *p.* 2, 4, 12

SCYTHIANS — Nomads of Iranian origin who migrated to western Asia from South Russia, probably by way of the Caucasus. They are mentioned by Herodotus, and in Assyrian and Urartian annals; also in the Bible under the names of Gomer and Ashkuzai. The joint invasion of western Asia by the Scythians and Cimmerians took place in or about the 8th century B.C. Among the Scythians were warlike tribes which, led by their chieftains, served as mercenaries (probably paid in war booty) in the Median and Assyrian armies. Their invasions, in the course of the 7th century B.C., impinged on many countries from the Caucasus to Palestine and from Urartu to Iran. Their name survived in the vocabulary of several regions. The Scythians seem to have been driven back north of the Caucasus in the early 6th century B.C. . *p.* 5, 16, 17, 109, 133, 222, 258, 259, 260, 261, 280, 297, 298, 328 *fig.* 336(a), 355

SEISTAN — Easternmost province of Iran, forming a low-lying plain watered by the river Helmand. . . *p.* 37, 41, 120

SELEUCIA — Town in Babylonia, on the right bank of the Tigris, founded by Seleucus Nicator in 307 B.C. First capital of the kingdom of Syria under the Seleucids. . . . . *p.* 15, 34, 85, 182, 288

SELEUCIDS — A Greek dynasty (312-64 B.C.) founded in Syria by Seleucus, later styled Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's generals. Successors of the kings of Persia, they were hard put to it to impose Greek culture on the Iranians, though more successful in Asia Minor. They founded new cities, Seleucia and Antioch, and promoted commerce between their empire and India. *p.* 1, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 33, 69, 102, 117, 135, 261

SELEUCUS I NICATOR — Macedonian general (356-280 B.C.), founder of the Greek dynasty of the Seleucids. One of Alexander's most brilliant officers, satrap of Babylonia (320), he inherited the greater part of the Achaemenian Empire after the battle of Ipsus (301) . . . . . *p.* 15

SEMUR-EN-BRIONNAIS (Saône-et-Loire) — Town in east-central France with a Romanesque church. *p.* 301

SENS (Yonne) — Town in northern France. Once the capital of the Senones, one of the ancient peoples of Gaul, and for a long period Paris was suffragan to the archbishopric of Sens. The cathedral treasure, one of the richest in France, contains some textiles of Sassanian inspiration. . . . . *p.* 232, 303 *fig.* 283

SERGIUS I — Pope (687-701), of Syrian origin . . *p.* 235

SEYRIG (Henri) — French archaeologist (b. 1895), former director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie at Beirut . . . . . *p.* 2, 11, 12, 69, 269

SHAH-NAMA ('Book of Kings') — A mythological and historical poem, the national epic of Persia, written by Firdausi (933-1021/1025) . . . *p.* 200, 240, 243

SHAMI — Town in south-western Iran, near Malamir, on the left bank of the river Karun in the Bakhtiari mountains. *p.* 19, 21, 27, 87, 89, 96, 109, 269 *fig.* 25-27, 36, 99, 107(a), 124, 125

SHAPUR I — King of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 241-272). A great soldier and empire-builder, with wide interests and an active intelligence. He commissioned translations of many Greek and Indian works, and was a zealous champion of Mani, whose 'universal' religion he did much to propagate. *p.* 125, 135, 136, 158, 173, 176, 183-185, 193, 241, 247, 252, 277, 284-287, 294, 317 *fig.* 166, 171, 194-209, 305, 339, 379

SHAPUR II — King of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 309-379). His long reign of seventy years was marked by cultural expansion as well as political triumphs, and Sassanian art was carried to the east in the wake of the king's victorious armies. Just as the Kushan kingdom had been converted into a Persian province, so now (to defeat Roman intrigues) Armenia was occupied. When, after the conversion of Constantine the Great, Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, the Christian subjects of the King of Kings came under suspicion as potential agents of a hostile power, and they were the object of ruthless persecutions during the reign of Shapur II. *p.* 180-6, 193, 209, 213, 226, 247, 289, 298, 317 *fig.* 225, 226, 253, 254, 312

SHAPUR III — King of the Sassanid dynasty (A.D. 383-388). Figures on a relief, with Shapur II, at Taq-i-Bustan. . . . . *p.* 193 *fig.* 313, 315

SHEHBA-PHILIPPOPOLIS — Syrian city built by the Roman emperor Philip the Arab (244-249). . . *p.* 149, 285 *fig.* 366

SHIZ (TAKHT-I-SULEIMAN) — Town in the province of Atropatene (Azerbaijan), with the ruins of a Parthian mountain stronghold built on the circular plan. A great religious centre in the Parthian and Sassanian period . . . *p.* 35, 87, 121, 286 *fig.* 47

SHOMU — Japanese emperor (701-756) of the Nara period . . . . . *p.* 230, 330

SHOSO-IN — Imperial treasure at Nara, containing thousands of works of Chinese and Japanese art brought together by the Japanese emperor Shomu in the 8th century A.D. *p.* 230, 330, 332-334, 336 *fig.* 442-445

SHUSHTAR — Former capital of the province of Khuzistan. Lies on the Karun, the only navigable river of Iran. Known in the Elamite period (2nd-1st millennia B.C.) as Hidalu. . . *p.* 226 *fig.* 174

SIALK — Prehistoric and protohistoric site explored by the French Expedition in 1933-34 and 1937. Located near Kashan, some 150 miles south of Teheran, on the western fringe of the great central desert of Iran. *p.* 37, 87, 116, 146, 272, 296

SIDAMARRA — Site in Anatolia (Cilicia) where sarcophagi of the 3rd century B.C. with figures set in columned niches have been discovered . . . *p.* 311

SIEGBURG — Town near Cologne. . . *p.* 303, 313

SILENUS — Greek or Phrygian god of wine, father of the satyrs and friend and teacher of Dionysus *p.* 18 *fig.* 21-22

SILK ROUTE — The ancient caravan route from Syria and Persia through Central Asia to China *p.* 33, 190, 226, 252, 317, 323 *fig.* 45

SILOS (Burgos) — Abbey church and cloister of Santo Domingo, with Romanesque sculpture . . . *p.* 301

SIMURGH — Mythological creature, protective genius resembling a huge bird. Represented as a composite animal in Sassanian art. *p.* 219, 226, 228, 301 *fig.* 260, 271, 272, 275, 276, 393

SOGDIANA — An ancient country between the Oxus (Amu Darya) and the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) which, under the Achaemenians, formed part of the 16th Satrapy. Chief town: Marakanda (present-day Samarkand). A prosperous kingdom from the early Christian era until the 8th century when it was overrun by the Arabs. Population of Iranian origin. *p.* 322-324, 326 *fig.* 431-434

SOPER (Alexander) — Contemporary art historian. *p.* 3

SORDE-L'ABBAYE (Landes) — Town in south-western France, near Dax. Under the Romans 'Sordi' was a halting-place on the main road from Pampeluna to Bordeaux and remains of two Roman villas with mosaic pavements have been found there. From the 10th century on, it became a stage on the pilgrimage road to Santiago de Compostella. The ruins of the Benedictine abbey, Saint-Jean de Sorde, lie 2 1/2 miles from Peyrehorade on the right bank of the Gave d'Oloron, near the point where this stream joins the Gave de Pau. The most interesting feature of the abbey church is the mosaic pavement in the apse, which some authorities regard as a Gallo-Roman work of the 3rd and 4th centuries, while others assign it to the 11th century. Possibly it consists of Gallo-Roman or Carolingian fragments reassembled in the 11th or 12th century. Or was the apse built over a Gallo-Roman mosaic pavement repaired in the Carolingian period? The first hypothesis seems the more probable . . . . . *p.* 307

SORRENTO — A city in Campania, near Naples. The Museum contains a number of carved *transennae* with animal motifs inspired by the type of decoration that flourished in the East during the Sassanian period. Other carvings comparable to these plaques of Neapolitan marble are still to be seen around the Bay of Naples and on islands in the lagoon of Venice (7th to 10th century) . . . *p.* 303 *fig.* 399, 400

SPALATO (SPLIT) — Town in Dalmatia (Yugoslavia), with ruins of an early 4th-century palace built by Oriental architects for the Roman emperor Diocletian. *p.* 292 *fig.* 378

STEIN (Sir Aurel) — English orientalist and archaeologist (1862-1943) . . . . . *p.* 19

STRZYGOWSKI (Josef) — German art historian. *p.* 2

STUPA — Buddhist shrine containing relics of the Buddha . . . . . *p.* 273

SUI — Chinese dynasty (A.D. 589-618) founded by Yang-kien who made Ch'ang-an his capital . *p.* 326

SUMER — Ancient land of Lower Mesopotamia, south of Kish, largely confined to the area between Nippur and Eridu, where a great civilization flourished from the 4th to the 2nd millennium B.C. in such famous cities as Ur, Lagash, Uruk (Warka), Larsa and Eridu . . . . . *p.* 233, 298

SURENA — Parthian prince, commander of the Persian cavalry at the battle of Carrhae (53 B.C.) in which Crassus was defeated. . . . . *p.* 35

SURKH KOTAL — Site in northern Afghanistan, near the road from Kabul to Mazar-i-Sharif, where a temple of the Kushan period has recently been discovered. . . *p.* 3-5, 12, 269, 280 *fig.* 7, 8, 31

SUSA — Chief town of Susiana, capital of the Elamite kingdom from the 3rd millennium B.C. on, and one of the four capitals of the Achaemenian Empire. The city was definitively abandoned in or about the 13th century A.D. Its ruins have been excavated by French expeditions, from 1883 onward. *p.* 7, 22, 27, 29, 36, 56, 57, 85, 87, 96, 98, 102, 111, 112, 126, 149, 180, 182, 193, 213, 221, 222, 226, 227, 238, 254, 261, 269, 324, 336 *fig.* 35, 70, 107(b), 109, 115-118, 133, 264

SUSIANA — The modern province of Khuzistan, between Babylonia and Persis, in north-western Iran, one of the leading provinces of the Achaemenian Empire. Before the coming of the Persians, Susiana was the centre of the Elamite kingdom. *p.* 123, 135, 137, 180, 226

SYMPLEGMA — Interlocation: group of interlacing animals . . . . . *p.* 223

SYRIA — Country of Hither Asia lying south of the plateaux of Anatolia and Kurdistan. Conquered by the Persians under Cyrus (559-530 B.C.); became the 5th Satrapy of the Achaemenian Empire, with Sidon as capital, under Darius (521-486 B.C.). Vast empire under Seleucus I (301-280 B.C.); spent its energies in futile conflicts and disintegrated. Made a Roman province, with Antioch as capital, by Pompey (63 B.C.): period of prosperity. Occupied by the Sassanians and freed itself from the foreign occupant, only to fall into the hands of the Arabs (A.D. 638). *p.* 18, 85, 104, 151, 219, 226, 235, 238, 247, 252, 261, 278, 287-289, 292, 293, 295, 298, 302, 306, 308, 311

TACITUS — Roman historian (A.D. 54/56-c. 130), held high official posts under the emperors Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan . . . . . *p.* 85

TAHIRIDS — Moslem dynasty of Khorasan (820-872). *p.* 339

T'AI-TSUNG — Chinese emperor (627-649) of the T'ang dynasty . . . . . *p.* 329

TAMAN — Peninsula of South Russia, between the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea . . . . . *p.* 258

T'ANG — Chinese dynasty (A.D. 618-907), founded by Kao-tsu. This was the golden age of China in the arts and literature as well as politically. *p.* 254, 326, 329, 330, 334, 336 *fig.* 438, 446, 447

TANG-I-CHAK-CHAK — Valley 12 miles north of Furkh (province of Laristan), which lies some 36 miles south of Darab. Remains of a fire temple and a *chahar tagh*. . . . . *p.* 150 *fig.* 193

TANG-I-SARWAK — Valley near the town of Behbahan (province of Fars), in south-western Iran, with a group of Parthian bas-reliefs (c. A.D. 200) carved on isolated rocks . . . . . *p.* 54-57, 117, 261, 262, 264, 274, 284 *fig.* 67-69

TAQ-I-BUSTAN — Site near Kermanshah, with bas-reliefs of Ardashir II, Shapur II and Peroz, and also some capitals. *p.* 190, 193-199, 206, 216, 226, 228, 252, 292, 301, 312, 318, 330 *fig.* 233-238, 270, 272, 376, 395

TARIM — Inland river of Chinese Turkestan. . . . . *p.* 326, 329, 330, 334

TARIM OASES — Two chains of oases, partly Indo-European, north and south of the Tarim river. The famous Silk Route from China to Iran and the Byzantine world traversed the Tarim basin and there were several large caravan towns which also served as halts on the Buddhist pilgrimage road from China to Afghanistan and India. Examples of Sassano-Buddhist art, whose origin may probably be traced to Afghanistan (Bamiyan and Kakrak, late 3rd and early 4th century), are to be found in the frescoes at Kizil, near Kucha (5th-7th centuries), and also in those of the Turfan group (Bezeklik and Murtuq). This art is in slight regression at Kumtura and Shorchuq. . *p.* 230, 317, 318, 324, 330

TAXILA — Town in north-west India (present-day Attock), on the east bank of the Indus, with remains of a Parthian temple. *p.* 85, 272, 273, 278, 280 *fig.* 356 (c, d)

TEHERAN — Capital of Iran, situated on the edge of a sandy, sterile plain, overlooked by the Elburz mountains . . . . . *p.* 24, 237

TERMEZ — Site on the banks of the Oxus, the ancient Demetrias, founded by the Greco-Bactrian king Demetrios. Here an *askos* decorated with a scene from Euripides' *Bacchae* has recently been discovered. . . *p.* 277

TEYSSÈDRE (Bernard) — French art historian. *p.* 297

THEODULF — Frankish Bishop of Orléans (799-818) and Latin poet . . . . . *p.* 290

THIERS (Puy-de-Dôme) — Town in Auvergne, some 20 miles from Clermont-Ferrand. Owes its origin to the church built by St Avitus on the right bank of the river Durolle in honour of St Genès the martyr. A fragment of the mosaic pavement shows the influence of Oriental textiles. . . . . *p.* 307 *fig.* 408

THYMIATERION — Perfume-burner . . . *p.* 261

TIFLIS — Capital of Georgia (U.S.S.R.) and cultural centre of Transcaucasia. Relief carvings in the castle of Meteh . . . . . *p.* 301

TIGRIS — River rising in what is now eastern Turkey, flowing through Iraq (Mesopotamia) and joining with the Euphrates to form the Shatt el-Arab which empties into the Persian Gulf. *p.* 15, 34, 85, 287, 291

TIRIDATES I — King of Armenia (A.D. 52-73), brother of the Parthian king Vologases I. . *p.* 85

TOLSTOV (S.P.) — Soviet art historian and archaeologist (b. 1907) . . . . . *p.* 324

TOPRAK-KALA — Site in Chorasmia (now Russian Central Asia) near the Aral Sea, with remains of a royal palace of the 3rd century A.D. containing sculptures and wall paintings. Excavated by a Soviet expedition (1945-50). . . *p.* 29, 193, 273, 324 *fig.* 435, 436

TOUL (Meurthe-et-Moselle) — Town in north-eastern France. The reliquary of St Amon in the church of Saint-Gengoult (13th-14th centuries) contained a Sassanian silk (now in the Musée Lorrain, Nancy). *p.* 232

TRAJAN — Roman emperor (98-117). A great builder. Named after him are the Forum Traianum, with two libraries and a basilica, and the famous column with reliefs illustrating scenes of the Dacian campaigns. In the East he created a province of Arabia and campaigned against the Parthians. *p.* 158, 285 *fig.* 365

TROYES (Aube) — Town in north-eastern France on the upper Seine, former cap. Champagne. Byzantine casket in the Cathedral Treasure *p.* 315 *fig.* 420, 422

TUKIU — A Turkish tribe dwelling in the 6th century A.D. in the Altai region. After defeating the Yuan-Yuans and Ephthalites, they split into two khanates situated between the Great Altai and the Hami range on the east. The khanate of the Eastern Tukiu was destroyed by the T'ang emperor T'ai-tsung (627-649), who also helped to break up the khanate of the Western Tukiu . . . . . *p.* 326

TUN-HUANG — Furthest outpost of China proper (in Kansu province), facing the vast desert of the Tarim basin. Terminus of the caravans coming by the northern road (via Kucha and Karashar), and also from the southern sector (Khotan) of the Silk Route. Caves of the Thousand Buddhas hollowed out of the cliffs south-east of Tun-huang, like those at Bamiyan, Kizil and Bezeklik. Like Turfan, Tun-huang was a transmitter of themes and motifs from Central Asia to Japan. The Kondo frescoes of the Horyu-ji near Nara (7th-8th centuries) present a well-balanced synthesis of Sassano-Buddhist imagery and traditional Chinese elements . . . . . *p.* 329

TURAN — Desert region of Russian Central Asia, to the south and south-east of the Aral Sea . . *p.* 284

TURFAN — Oasis town in the Tarim basin of Chinese Turkestan, with Manichaean and Nestorian wall paintings of the 9th century. *p.* 329 *fig.* 439, 440

TURKESTAN, CHINESE (Sinkiang) — Westernmost province of China, consisting of plateaux bounded by high mountains (Altai range). Its chief river is the Tarim, whose basin is ringed with oases. In the north are Kashgar, Kucha and Karashar; Turfan lies a little apart, to the north-east. In the south are Yarkand, Khotan, Niya and Miran. These oases played much the same part in the diffusion of Iranian and Greco-Buddhist arts and Persian and Buddhist religions, as did the oases of the Syrian desert (e.g. Dura Europos and Palmyra). *p.* 16, 226, 230, 233, 284, 308, 330, 334

UIGHURS — Eastern Turks first mentioned in Chinese records of the 2nd century B.C. Established in the 8th century A.D. on the borderland between Mongolia and Turkestan, they gradually occupied Mongolia (747-840). Their culture derived from Iran, India and China and was transmitted by them to the other Turco-Mongol peoples. Their power was broken in 847 by the Kirghiz of the Yenisei. *p.* 326, 327, 329

UMAYYADS — Moslem dynasties of Damascus (661-750) and Spain (756-1031) . . . . . *p.* 290

UTHAL — King of Hatra (northern Mesopotamia) in the 2nd century A.D. . . . . *p.* 89 *fig.* 100

VALASH — Sassanid king (A.D. 496-499). *p.* 288 *fig.* 320

VALENS — East Roman emperor (364-378). Made an associate in the empire by his brother, Valentinian I, and took charge of the East. Followed up the war with the Persians in an attempt to wrest Armenia from them. Embraced the Arian faith . . . *p.* 223

VALERIAN — Roman emperor (253-260), taken prisoner by Shapur I after a battle near Edessa in 260 and believed to have died in captivity in Persia. . . *p.* 135, 139, 149, 152, 159, 160, 240, 286 *fig.* 171, 195, 197

VARAKHSHA — Site in ancient Sogdiana (present-day Bukhara in Russian Turkestan). *p.* 322, 323 *fig.* 431 432

VENICE — 'Peacock plaques' in St Mark's. *p.* 309 *fig.* 409

VERETHRAGNA — Ancient Iranian deity, protector of Iran and god of victories. *p.* 29, 57, 66, 173, 223, 229, 245 *fig.* 76, 79

VICQ (Indre) — Town in central France, with the Romanesque church of Saint-Martin, decorated with wall painting of the first third of the 12th century. . . *p.* 294 *fig.* 380

VIENNE (Isère) — An old town of south-eastern France, on the left bank of the Rhone, some 50 miles from Grenoble. The church of Saint-Pierre, probably founded in the first half of the 5th century, was wrecked by the Saracens in the 8th century and rebuilt in the 9th. All the old portions of the edifice were masked by ugly facings in the 18th century. Once these were removed, it became clear that all the outer walls date to the 5th century, as also do the purely decorative, gracefully disposed colonnettes surrounding the arcades on the ground level and the windows of the first storey . . . . *p.* 292 *fig.* 377

VIGNORY (Haute-Marne) — Town in north-eastern France, 13 miles from Chaumont, with a magnificent 11th-century church. The archaism of its capitals proves that the art traditions of the Carolingian period had not entirely died out in this part of France when this church was built (first half of the 11th century). *p.* 303

VOLOGASES I — Parthian king (A.D. 51-77/78). Defended Armenia against the Romans. Made peace with Nero, who consented to grant his brother Tiridates the title of King of Armenia (A.D. 66). . . *p.* 85 *fig.* 147

VOLOGASES II — Parthian king (A.D. 122-149).

VOLOGASES III — Parthian king (A.D. 147/148-191). During his reign the Romans captured Ctesiphon and burnt down the palace. Then an outbreak of plague in the Roman army forced it to retreat to Syria . . . . . *p.* 69 *fig.* 82, 151

VOLOGASES IV — Parthian king (A.D. 191-207/208). Septimius Severus invaded his kingdom in 198, besieging him in Ctesiphon. The king escaped and reigned some ten years more . . . . . *fig.* 153

VOLOGASES V — Parthian king (A.D. 207/208-221/222). Fought against his brother Artabanus V, who attempted to usurp the crown, and won a few new territories, but died in the course of a rebellion. *fig.* 154

VONONES I — Parthian king (A.D. 8/9-11/12), dethroned by Artabanus III. . . . . *fig.* 145

VONONES II — Parthian king, who succeeded his father Gotarzes in A.D. 50 and was deposed a few months later by Vologases I.

WARKA (URUK) — Ancient Mesopotamian town where some Parthian monuments have been brought to light. . . . . *p.* 36, 37, 272 *fig.* 121, 131

WHEELER (Sir Mortimer) — English archaeologist *p.* 3

WORDWELL (Suffolk) — English church with tympanum of Eastern inspiration . . . . . *p.* 300

XERXES — Achaemenid king (486-465 B.C.), son of Darius I. Ascended the throne after being viceroy of Babylon for twelve years. Suppressed the Egyptian rebellion. Took drastic action against Babylon, also in revolt, razed its walls, destroyed its temples and melted down the gold statue of the god Bel. Ceased to use the title of King of Babylon, and styled himself King of the Medes and Persians. A luxury-loving monarch, he enjoyed building palaces and monuments but was forced to spend much of his life waging war. Defeated by the Greeks, he lost all the possessions beyond Asia Minor bequeathed to him by Darius. Assassinated in his magnificent palace (465 B.C.). *p.* 148 *fig.* 156

YAZDGARD I — Sassanid king (A.D. 399-420) *fig.* 316

YAZDGARD III — Last Sassanid king (A.D. 632-651). During the fourteen years between the death of Chosroes II (628) and the accession of Yazdgard III, a dozen kings succeeded one another on the throne of Iran. Yazdgard, the last scion of Chosroes II, was discovered in hiding at Istakhr and there crowned king. But the Sassanian Empire was falling to pieces, disintegrating into a number of petty states, and incapable of resisting the onslaught of the Arabs. The king fled eastward with his court and was assassinated at Merv (651). . . . . *p.* 234 *fig.* 329

YENISEI — River of central Siberia, flowing into the Kara Sea (Arctic Ocean). . . . *p.* 327 *fig.* 437

YUAN-YUAN — Tribe, presumably of Mongol stock, who in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. dominated Mongolia, from the Manchurian frontier to Turfan and probably even as far as the eastern end of Lake Balkhash, and from the river Orkhon to the Great Wall of China . . . . . *p.* 326

YUEH-CHI — Chinese name of a central Asiatic tribe who ruled in Bactria and India, also known as Kushans. . . . . *p.* 16

YUEN-TSUNG — Chinese emperor of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 712-756) . . . . . *p.* 330, 335

ZAGROS — Mountain range branching off from the Transcaucasian mountain mass, and forming the eastern boundary of the Mesopotamian plain and the western limit of the Iranian plateau . . . *p.* 25, 54

ZERAVASHAN — River in Uzbekistan (Russian Turkestan), flowing through Samarkand.

ZEUS (JUPITER) — Supreme god of the Greeks *p.* 18, 21 *fig.* 23*e*

ZIWIYEH — Village near the town of Sakkiz, in Iranian Kurdistan, where peasants discovered a magnificent treasure hoard (1947), now dispersed . . *p.* 204, 261

ZOROASTER (ZARATHUSTRA) — Prophet and reformer of the Mazdaean religion. Date undetermined, but he is thought to have lived and taught in the 7th century B.C. He expounded the doctrine that Ahuramazda was the supreme god and the other gods but emanations of him, fulfilling his will. The conflict between Good and Evil was to end with the victory of the former. 'Good thoughts, good words, good deeds' (the triad of Zoroastrian ethics) were rewarded by an after-life in paradise. It was a sin to immolate the 'divine race.' Dead bodies must not be buried but exposed to the elements. *p.* 85, 121, 150, 166, 244, 284, 323, 326

ZURVAN ('Infinite Time') — Primitive androgynous deity who gave birth to Ahuramazda and Ahriman, Good and Evil, Prince of Light and Prince of Darkness. This very ancient Iranian belief was incorporated in official Zoroastrianism under the Sassanids. Zurvan was a god of the celestial firmament and arbiter of destiny. . . . . *p.* 166 *fig.* 11

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IRAN

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From the Royal Treasury of Nysa. Nearly all the rhytons overlooked by looters had carefully polished stems decorated with motifs inlaid with gold, coloured glass or precious stones.

41b. *Greco-Iranian Art. Old Nysa, near Ashkhabad (Turkmenistan).* Rhyton ending in a Griffin, with Mythological Frieze and Rim carved with 'Masks.' *2nd century B.C. Ivory, carved out of an elephant's tusk. (After* Union Soviétique, *December* 1954*)*

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52a. *Parthian Art. Qum.* Four Male Heads. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Decorative motifs, limestone, height 17 inches. (Photo Rostamy)*

52b. *Parthian Art. Hamadan (Ecbatana).* Man's Head. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Decorative motif, stone. (Photo Rostamy)*

53. *Parthian Art. Hatra.* Bust of a Deity. *2nd century A.D. Formerly Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Sculpture (decorating an arch), limestone, height 28 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

54. *Parthian Art. Kuh-i-Khwaja (Seistan).* Decorative Panel: Geometric and Plant Motifs. *1st century A.D. Stucco Relief. (After E. Herzfeld, 1941, pl. XCIX)*

55. *Greco-Iranian Art. Kuh-i-Khwaja (Seistan).* Eros on Horseback. *1st century A.D. Fresco (destroyed). (After E. Herzfeld, 1941, pl. CI)*

56. *Greco-Iranian Art. Kuh-i-Khwaja (Seistan).* King and Queen. *1st century A.D. Fresco (destroyed). (After E. Herzfeld, 1941, pl. CIV)*

57. *Greco-Iranian Art. Kuh-i-Khwaja (Seistan).* The Three Gods. *1st century A.D. Fresco (destroyed). (After E. Herzfeld, 1941, pl. CIV)*

58. *Greco-Iranian Art. Kuh-i-Khwaja (Seistan).* Man's Head in Profile, with Bust in Front-View. *1st century A.D. Fresco (destroyed). (After E. Herzfeld, 1941, pl. CII)*

59. *Greco-Iranian Art. Dura Europos, Temple of the Palmyrene Gods (75 B.C.).* Sacrifice of Conon. *1st century A.D. Fresco. (After Franz Cumont,* Fouilles de Doura-Europos, *pl. XXXII)*

60. *Parthian Art. Assur.* Priest sacrificing at an Altar (detail). *1st-2nd centuries A.D.(?). Brush drawing in black on a clay potsherd (detail). Diameter of the potsherd 21 1/2 inches. (After W. Andrae,* Die Parther-Stadt Assur, *p. 109, fig. 46)*

This potsherd, discovered by Andrae in 1910, must have formed part of a large clay vessel decorated with figurative designs.

61. *Greco-Persian Art. Çavuch Köi, near Panderma (Asia Minor).* Hunting and Banquet Scenes. *About 400 B.C. Istanbul Museum (No. 1054). Funerary stele in bas-relief, white marble, height 42 1/2 inches, width 27, thickness 45. (Museum Photo)*

62. *Parthian Art. Dura Europos.* Horseman hunting Onagers. *2nd century A.D. Louvre, Paris (AO 17310). Fresco, width 6 1/2 feet. (Photo Draeger)*

63a. *Parthian Art. Dura Europos.* Wild Boar Hunt. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. In situ, graffito on the wall of a house. (After Rostovtzeff,* L'Art gréco-iranien, *RAA VII, 1931-32, pl. LXIV)*

63b. *Parthian Art. Dura Europos.* Eland pursued by a Hunter. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. In situ, graffito on the wall of a house. (After Rostovtzeff,* L'Art gréco-iranien, *RAA VII, 1931-32, pl. LXIV)*

63c. *Parthian Art. Dura Europos.* Clibanarius with a Lance, charging. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. In situ, graffito on the wall of a house. (After Rostovtzeff,* L'Art gréco-iranien, *RAA VII, 1931-32, pl. LXIV)*

64. *Parthian Art. Bisutun (Kurdistan).* Mithridates II (123-88 B.C.) receiving the Submission of Four High Dignitaries, and Victory of Gotarzes II (38-51 A.D.) over a Pretender supported by Rome. *1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. Rock Reliefs, in situ, carved below the relief and inscriptions of Darius I. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)* The bas-relief of Mithridates II was disfigured in the 18th century to make way for a Persian inscription. A drawing made in the 17th century (see No. 65) shows it in its original state. Greek inscriptions figure on both reliefs.

65. Sketch of the Bas-relief of Mithridates II at Bisutun, made in 1673-74 by Guillaume-Joseph Grelot (born c. 1630), a French artist resident at Constantinople. Grelot sketched the monument while exploring Persia in the company of the French traveller, Sir John Chardin (who later settled in London and was knighted by Charles II). *(After E. Herzfeld,* Am Tor von Asien, *1920, p. 37, fig. 11)*

66. *Parthian Art. Bisutun (Kurdistan).* Parthian Prince sacrificing at an Altar. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Rock Relief (fragment), in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

67. *Parthian Art. Tang-i-Sarwak (Khuzistan).* Scenes of the Life of a Prince of Elymais (detail): Seated in the Iranian Fashion, the Prince holds forth the Ring to Two of his Vassals. *About 200 A.D. Rock Relief, in situ, carved on an isolated rock in a valley of the Zagros foothills. (Photo Rostamy)*

68. *Parthian Art. Tang-i-Sarwak (Khuzistan).* Scenes of the Life of a Prince of Elymais (detail): Enthronement of the Prince. *About 200 A.D. Rock Relief, in situ, carved on a rock standing free of the mountain, some 200 yards from the preceding relief (No. 67). (Photo Rostamy)*

69. *Parthian Art. Tang-i-Sarwak (Khuzistan).* Scenes of the Life of a Prince of Elymais (detail): Horseman driving home his Lance. *About 200 A.D. Rock Relief, in situ, carved on a rock standing free from the mountain. (Photo Rostamy)*

70. *Parthian Art. Susa.* Artabanus V passing the Ring, Symbol of Power, to Khwasak, Satrap of Susa. *Dated 215 A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Bas-relief, limestone, 35 1/2 inches square, 10 inches thick. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

71. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh (Commagene).* View of the Site of Nimrud Dagh. *(Photo F. Widmer)*
One of the highest peaks in the Anti-Taurus range (7,000 feet). In the centre, the funerary hill of Antiochus I of Commagene (69-34 B.C.). At the foot of the hill, the east and west terraces adorned with monumental statues and bas-reliefs.

72. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh, east terrace.* Deities of the Tomb of Antiochus I of Commagene. 69-34 *B.C. Limestone, in situ. (Photo Dr F.K. Dörner)*

73. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh.* Head of the God Zeus-Oromazdes. 69-34 *B.C. Tomb of Antiochus I of Commagene, west terrace. Limestone. (Photo Dr F.K. Dörner)*

74. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh.* Head of Apollo-Mithras. 69-34 *B.C. Tomb of Antiochus I of Commagene, east terrace. Limestone. (Photo Dr Theresa Goell)*

75. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh.* Head of King Antiochus I of Commagene, on his Tomb. 69-34 *B.C. In situ, west terrace. Limestone. (Photo Dr F.K. Dörner)*

76. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh.* Head of Herakles-Verethragna. 69-34 *B.C. Tomb of Antiochus I of Commagene, west terrace. Limestone. (Photo Dr F.K. Dörner)*

77. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh.* Head of the Goddess Commagene. 69-34 *B.C. Tomb of Antiochus I of Commagene, west terrace. Limestone. (Photo Dr F.K. Dörner)*

78a. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh.* Side-view of King Antiochus I of Commagene wearing his Tiara. 69-34 *B.C. Tomb of Antiochus I, west terrace. Sandstone (?). (Photo Dr Theresa Goell)*

78b. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh.* Head of the Achaemenid King Darius I. 69-34 *B.C. Tomb of Antiochus I of Commagene, east terrace. Sandstone(?). (Photo Dr F.K. Dörner)*

79. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh, west terrace.* Antiochus and Herakles-Verethragna. 69-34 *B.C. Bas-relief, sandstone (?), height 7 feet 5 inches. (Photo Dr F.K. Dörner)*

80. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nimrud Dagh, west terrace.* Antiochus and Apollo-Mithras. 69-34 *B.C. Bas-relief, sandstone (?), height 7 feet 5 inches. (Photo Dr F.K. Dörner)*

81. *Parthian-Palmyrene Art. Palmyra.* Bust of Zabdibol. *About 100 A.D. Damascus Museum. Funerary Bas-relief, stone. (Photo Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth)*

82. *Parthian Art.* Bust of King Vologases III. 148-192 *A.D. Private Collection, Ahwaz. Seal, green stone, height 1 3/8 inches. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

83. *Parthian-Palmyrene Art. Palmyra.* Tomb of Yarkai. 175-200 *A.D. Damascus Museum. (Photo Henri Seyrig)*

84. *Palmyrene Art. Palmyra Region.* Palmyrene Triad: Aglibol, Baalshamin, Malakbel. *First half of the 1st century A.D. Louvre, Paris (AO 19801). Bas-relief, stone, height 22 inches, width 27 inches. (Photo Ina Bandy)*

85. Palmyra. General View from the East with the Temple in the Foreground.

86. *Parthian-Palmyrene Art. Palmyra Region.* Sacrificial Scene : Worshipper between Two Deities on Horseback. 154 *A.D. Bas-relief. (Photo Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth)*

87a. *Parthian-Palmyrene Art. Palmyra Region.* Offering of Incense. 191 *A.D. Bas-relief. (Cliché Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth)*

87b. *Achaemenian Art. Persepolis.* Median alternating with Persian Guards. *6th-5th centuries B.C. Bas-relief, stone, in situ. (Photo Roger-Viollet)*

88. *Parthian-Palmyrene Art. Palmyra.* Bust of M.J. Maximus Aristides. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Louvre, Paris (AO 1556). Limestone, height 22 1/2 inches, width 18. (Photo Giraudon)*

89. *Parthian-Palmyrene Art. Palmyra.* Bust of Jarhai. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Louvre, Paris (AO 1B 57). Funerary relief, stone, height 21 1/4, width 19 1/4 inches. (Photo Roger Parry)*

90. *Parthian-Palmyrene Art. Palmyra, Hypogeum of Atenatan, South-west Necropolis.* Triclinium of Maqqai. 229 *A.D. Funerary Reliefs, in situ. (Cliché Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth)*

91. *Parthian-Palmyrene Art. Palmyra.* Soldiers. *2nd century A.D. Louvre, Paris (AO 15556). Relief, limestone, height 27, width 18 inches. (Photo Tel-Vigneau)*

92. *Palmyrene Art.* Palmyrene Funerary Relief. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Damascus Museum. (Photo Manceau)*

93. *Palmyrene Art. Palmyra.* Head of Shaba. *2nd century A.D. Louvre, Paris (AO 1557). Funerary Relief, stone, height 21 1/4, width 19 1/4 inches. (Photo Roger Parry)*

94. *Palmyrene Art. Palmyra.* Funerary Bust of Ammiat. *2nd-4th centuries A.D. Louvre, Paris (AO 2196). Relief, white limestone, height 20 1/2, width 17 1/4 inches. (Photo Giraudon).*

95. *Palmyrene Art. Palmyra.* Woman's Head. *2nd-4th centuries A.D. Louvre, Paris (AO 5002). Limestone, height 11 1/2 inches. (Photo Giraudon)*

96. *Palmyrene Art. Palmyra, Temple of Bel.* Veiled Women. *1st century A.D. Relief on the back of the temple door, marble, in situ, height 51 inches. (Photo Henri Seyrig)*

97. *Hatra.* Ruins of the Temples of Hatra. *2nd century A.D. (Photo Claude Rivière)*

98. *Parthian Art. Hatra, Temple I.* Nergal, God of the Underworld, and his Consort, in Majesty. *2nd century A.D. Baghdad Museum. Excavations of the Directorate General of Antiquities of Iraq (1951). Cult Relief, stone, height 35 1/2 inches. (Museum Photo)*

99. *Parthian Art. Temple of Shami.* Parthian Prince. *2nd Century B.C.(?). Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Bronze Statue, height 6 feet 3 1/2 inches. (Photo Rostamy)*

100. *Parthian Art. Hatra, Temple III.* Uthal, King of Hatra. *2nd century A.D. Mosul Museum. Excavations of the Directorate General of Antiquities of Iraq (1951). Marble Statue, height 7 feet 2 1/2 inches. (Photo Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad)*
An inscription on the base identifies the statue as that of King Uthal.

101. *Parthian Art. Hatra.* Man's Head. *2nd century A.D. Baghdad Museum. Limestone Statue (fragment), life-size. (After* Illustrated London News, *December 25, 1954, fig. 5)*

102. *Parthian Art. Hatra.* Head of a Parthian King. *2nd century A.D. Baghdad Museum. Stone Statue (fragment). (Photo Iraq Museum, by courtesy of H.E. Naji al-Asil)*

103. *Parthian Art. Hatra, Temple V.* Allat, Goddess of War, flanked by Two Lesser Deities. *1st century A.D. Baghdad Museum. Limestone Relief, height 51 inches. (Photo Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad)*

104. *Parthian Art. Hatra, Temple V.* The Princess Washfari, Daughter of King Sanatruq. *2nd century A.D. Baghdad Museum. Marble Statue. (Photo Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad)*
The inscription on the base gives the date of the statue's erection: the year 449 of the Seleucid Era (138 A.D.).

105. *Parthian Art. Hatra, Temple IX.* Sanatruq, King of Hatra. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Baghdad Museum. Marble Statue, height 7 feet 2 1/2 inches. (Photo Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad)*
King Sanatruq, of Arab origin, seems to have been the most illustrious governor of the Parthian town of Hatra.

106. *Parthian Art. Hatra, Temple IV.* Ubal, Daughter of Jabal. *2nd century A.D. Baghdad Museum. Limestone Statue, height 5 feet 7 inches. (Photo Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad)*
The inscription on the base informs us that Ubal died at the age of eighteen and that her husband erected this statue to her memory.

107a. *Parthian Art. Temple of Shami.* Head of a Parthian Prince. *2nd century B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Marble, height 41 1/2 inches. (Photo Rostamy)*

107b. *Hellenic Art. Susa.* Head of a Parthian Queen, possibly Musa, Wife of Phraates IV. *Late 1st century B.C. or early 1st century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Marble. (Photo Rostamy)*
This piece of sculpture is signed 'Antiochus, son of Dryas.'

108. *Parthian Art.* Bust of a Parthian Prince. *1st century B.C. (?). Formerly Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Bronze* objet d'art, *height 3, width 2 inches. (Photo Draeger)*
Probably formed the top of a sceptre.

109. *Parthian Art. Susa.* Head of a Bearded Man. *1st-3rd centuries A.D. Louvre, Paris. Limestone, height 10 1/4 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

110. *Parthian Art. Hatra, Temple III.* Warrior in Commander's Uniform. *1st-3rd centuries A.D. Mosul Museum. Excavations of the Directorate General of Antiquities of Iraq (1951). Limestone Statue, height 6 1/2 feet. (Photo Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad)*

111. *Parthian Art. Neighbourhood of Burujird (Luristan).* Incense-burner, with a Cheetah (?) resting its Forepaws on a Cup. *1st century A.D. Cleveland Museum of Art. Bronze, height 4 1/2, length 11 3/4 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

112a. *Parthian Art. Nihawand(?).* Part of a Belt Buckle: Eagle and its Prey in a Medallion inset with Turquoises. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gold and precious stones, height 2 3/8, width 3 1/4 inches, weight 105 grammes. (Photo Draeger)*
The other part of this buckle is in the British Museum.

112b and c. *Parthian Art. Deilaman.* Necklaces with Stones and Animals. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. K. Rabenou Collection, New York. Gold and jewels. (Photo Draeger)*

112d. *Parthian Art. Nippur (Mesopotamia).* Ear-rings in the form of Concentric Circles. *3rd century A.D. (?). The University Museum, Philadelphia. Gold, diameter 2 1/8 inches. (Museum Photo)*
Inspired by an Achaemenian model.

113. *Parthian Art. Mesopotamia.* Panther playing with her Cub. *Berenson Collection, Settignano (Florence). Bronze, length 6 1/4 inches. (Photo Sinetto)*

114a. *Parthian Art. Deilaman.* Tip of a Rhyton in the form of an Ibex. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Miss Dolores Selikowitz Collection, New York. Silver gilt, height 5 7/8, width 3 1/2 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

114b. *Parthian Art. Deilaman.* Cup with Small Pedestal and Omphalos. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Foroughi Collection, Teheran. Silver, height 3 inches, diameter 7/8 of an inch, weight 780 grammes. (Photo Draeger)*
Inscription in Pahlavi-Parthian.

114c. *Greco-Iranian Art. Nihawand (?).* Eros riding a Griffin. *Gold applique, height 1 1/2* inch. *(Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

115. *Parthian Art. Susa.* God (?). *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Louvre, Paris. Terracotta Figurine (fragment). (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

116a. *Hellenistic Art. Susa.* Herakles. *2nd-1st centuries B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Terracotta Figurine. (Photo Rostamy)*

116b. *Parthian Art. Susa.* Sacrificial Scene. *2nd-1st centuries B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Terracotta Figurine. (Photo Razavi)*

116c. *Parthian Art. Susa.* Goddess. *2nd-1st centuries B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Terracotta Figurine. (Photo Razavi)*

117a. *Hellenistic Art. Susa.* Bust of a Child. *3rd-2nd centuries B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Terracotta. (Photo Razavi)*

117b. *Greco-Parthian Art. Susa.* Goddess of Fecundity. *2nd-1st centuries B.C. Louvre, Paris. Terracotta Emblem. (Museum Photo)*

118. *Parthian Art. Susa.* Three Parthian Horsemen. *1st-3rd centuries A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Terracotta, height 4 3/4 and 4 inches. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

119. *Parthian Art.* Parthian Horseman. *Louvre, Paris (AO 10221). Terracotta Relief, height 5 7/8 inches. (Archives photographiques)*

120. *Parthian Art.* Man in the attitude of a Mourner. *Private Collection, Paris. Terracotta. (Collection Photo)*

121a. *Parthian Art. Mesopotamia.* Reclining Goddess. *Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Alabaster Figurine. (Museum Photo)*

121b. *Parthian Art. Warka.* Parthian Clibanarius reclining at a Funerary Banquet. *British Museum, London. Terracotta. (Museum Photo)*

122. *Parthian Art.* Hunting Scene. *British Museum, London. Terracotta Relief. (Museum Photo)*

123. *Parthian Art.* Parthian Noble before a Deity. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Berlin Museum. Terracotta (modern, made from an ancient mould), height* 4 7/8 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*

124. *Parthian Art. Tomb from Shami.* Bust of a Queen or Goddess. *2nd-1st centuries B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Small plaque perhaps decorating a casket, mother-of-pearl. (Photo Razavi)*

125a. *Parthian Art. Tomb from Shami.* Archer. *2nd-1st centuries B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Small plaque perhaps decorating a casket, mother-of-pearl. (Photo Razavi)*

125b. *Parthian Art. Tomb from Shami.* Horsemen. *2nd-1st centuries B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Small plaque perhaps decorating a casket, mother-of-pearl. (Photo Razavi)*

126. *Parthian Art. Noin Ula (Mongolia).* Man's Head. *1st century B.C. Hermitage, Leningrad. Woollen textile (fragment),* 8 1/4 *by* 6 *inches. (Museum Photo)*

127. *Parthian Art. Dura Europos.* Three Elands. *Damascus Museum. Small plaque of bone,* 2 1/2 *by* 2 3/4 *inches. (After Hopkins,* 1939, *pl. XXXIX, No.* 1)
An imported work by a Scytho-Sarmatian artist.

128. *Post-Achaemenian Art. Persis.* Seal Impression: (A) Temple, (B) Scene of Combat. *3rd-2nd centuries B.C. Roman Ghirshman Collection. Terracotta Bulla. (Photo Razavi)*

129. *Post-Achaemenian Art. Persis.* Drachma of Autophrodates, King of Persis: (A) Effigy of the King, (B) A Temple. *3rd century B.C. Azizbeglu Collection, Teheran. Silver Coin. (Collection Photo)*

130. *Parthian Art.* Drachma of Mithridates II: (A) Effigy of the King, (B) Arsak Deified. 123-88/87 *B.C. Azizbeglu Collection, Teheran. Silver Coin. (Collection Photo)*

131. *Parthian Art. Warka.* Slipper-shaped Sarcophagus. *Parthian Period. British Museum, London. Glazed Terracotta. (Museum Photo)*

132a. *Parthian Art.* Vase with Modelled Decoration. *Parthian Period. British Museum, London. Green Glazed Terracotta. (Museum Photo)*

132b. *Parthian Art. Demavend.* Rhyton with foreparts of an Ibex. *2nd-1st centuries B.C. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Red Terracotta, height* 14 1/2 *inches, diameter of the rim* 4 1/4 *inches. (Photo Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)*

133a. *Parthian Art. Susa.* Jar with Small Handles and Incised Decoration. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Glazed Terracotta. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

133b. *Parthian Art. Susa.* Three-legged Krater. *2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Yellow Glazed Terracotta. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

134. *Parthian Art.* Jar with Handles, with Incised Designs and Relief-work. *3rd century B.C. (?). Kouchakji Collection, New York. Green glazed terracotta, height* 12 1/2 *inches. (Photo Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)*

135. *Parthian Art.* Mithridates I (right profile). 171-138 *B.C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Anc. acq. B.N. exp. No.* 1862*). Silver Coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: Beardless Herakles, standing, in three-quarter view.

136. *Parthian Art.* Mithridates I (left profile). 171-138 *B.C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Anc. acq. B.N. exp. No.* 1859, *J. de Morgan Collection). Silver Coin, diameter* 3/4 *of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: Seated Deity holding a Bow. The king was formerly identified as Artabanus II.

137. *Parthian Art.* Mithridates II (left profile). 123-88 *B.C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Anc. acq. B.N. exp. No.* 1866*). Silver Coin, diameter* 1 1/4 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: God Seated on the Omphalos, holding a Bow.

138. *Parthian Art.* Artabanus II (full-face). 88-77 *B.C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Anc. acq. B.N. exp. No.* 1875). *Silver Coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: The King on Horseback receiving a Palm from the hand of a Tyche.

139. *Parthian Art.* Phraates III wearing the Tiara (left profile). 70-57 *B.C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver Coin, diameter* 3/4 *of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: Seated Deity holding a Bow.

140. *Parthian Art.* Mithridates III (full-face). *About* 57 *B.C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Anc. acq. B.N. exp. No.* 1869). *Silver Coin, diameter* 3/4 *of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: Seated Deity holding a Bow.

141. *Parthian Art.* Phraates IV (left profile). *C.* 38-*c.* 2 *B.C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Anc. acq. B.N. exp. No.* 1871*). Silver Coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: Tyche offering a Palm to the King seated on a Throne.

142. *Parthian Art.* Phraates V (left profile). 3/2 *B.C.-*4 *A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver Coin, diameter* 1 1/8 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*

143. *Parthian Art.* Reverse of the foregoing coin: Seated Figure holding a Bow. *(Photo Draeger)*

144. *Parthian Art.* Orodes II (left profile). 4-6 *A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Anc. Acq. B.N. exp. No.* 1870*). Silver Coin, diameter* 1 1/8 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: The King enthroned, holding in one hand a Victory, in the other a Sceptre.

145. *Parthian Art.* Vonones I (left profile). 8/9-10/12 *A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Nouv. acq., unnumbered, J. de Morgan Collection). Silver Coin diameter* 3/4 *of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*

146. *Parthian Art.* Reverse of the foregoing coin: Winged Victory clad in a Long Robe and holding a Palm. *(Photo Draeger)*

147. *Parthian Art.* Vologases I (bust in front view, head in left profile, triple necklace with cabochon). 51-77/78 *A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver Coin, diameter 1 inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: The King enthroned, with a Diadem, in Parthian Costume; in front of him a woman, the emblematic figure of a city.

148. *Parthian Art.* Artabanus IV wearing a Tiara with Ear-flaps (left profile). 80-81 *A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver Coin, diameter 3/4 of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*
Formerly identified as Artabanus V.

149. *Parthian Art.* Reverse of the foregoing coin: Enthroned Figure holding a Bow. *(Photo Draeger)*

150. *Parthian Art.* Osroes wearing a Tiara (left profile). 106/107-130 *(?) A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Nouv. acq., J. de Morgan Collection). Silver Coin, diameter 3/4 of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: The King enthroned; in front of him a woman, the allegorical figure of a city.

151. *Parthian Art.* Vologases III wearing a Cap (left profile). 147/148-191 *A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver Coin, diameter 1 1/4 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

152. *Parthian Art.* Reverse of the foregoing coin: The King enthroned; in front of him the allegorical figure of a city. *(Photo Draeger)*

153. *Parthian Art.* Vologases IV (full-face, with pointed beard, upturned moustache and curly hair in three tufts). 191-207/208 *A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver Coin, diameter 3/4 of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: Seated Figure holding a Bow.

154. *Parthian Art.* Vologases V (left profile). 207/208-221/222 *A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver Coin, diameter 1 inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: Enthroned King receiving a Crown from a Tyche.

155. *Parthian Art.* Artavasdes wearing a Tiara with Ear-flaps (left profile). 227-228 *A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Anc. acq. B.N. exp. No. 1886). Silver Coin, diameter 1 inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse: Enthroned King receiving a Crown from a Tyche.

156. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Equestrian Combat of the Sassanid King Hormizd II, carved beneath the tomb of the Achaemenid Xerxes I. *Early 4th century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Hervé)*
Hormizd II unhorses his adversary with a thrust of his spear. Behind the king is his standard-bearer. 'Still distinguishable above this relief is the silhouette of a seated king, seen full-face, leaning on his sword, which he holds between his legs. This is Shapur II' (Van den Berghe).

157. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Investiture of the Sassanid King Ardashir I (detail): Bust of the King. 224-241 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

158. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Investiture of the Sassanid King Narsah (detail): The Goddess Anahita. *3rd-4th centuries A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Hervé)*

159. *Sassanian Art. Firuzabad (Fars).* The Sassanian Fortress-Palace of Qal'a-e-Dukhtar. *First half of the 3rd century A.D. In situ. (Photo Van den Berghe)*

160. *Sassanian Art. Firuzabad (Fars).* Aerial View of the City of Firuzabad. *First half of the 3rd century A.D. (Photo E. Schmidt, by courtesy of Mary Helen Warden Schmidt Foundation)*

161. *Sassanian Art. Firuzabad (Fars).* Plan of the Palace of Firuzabad. *Second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. (After* A Survey of Persian Art, *edited by A. Upham Pope, Vol. I, fig. 150)*

162. *Sassanian Art. Firuzabad (Fars).* Stucco Decoration of the Palace of Ardashir I. *First half of the 3rd century A.D. In situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

163. *Sassanian Art. Firuzabad (Fars).* Victory of Ardashir I over Artabanus V. *Second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghishrman)*
The largest and probably the earliest of the Sassanian rock sculptures, carved on the rock-face of the gorge of Tang-i-Ab.

164. *Sassanian Art. Firuzabad (Fars).* Victory of Ardashir I over Artabanus V (detail): King Ardashir. *Second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo A.P. Hardy)*

165. *Sassanian Art. Firuzabad (Fars).* Victory of Ardashir I over Artabanus V (detail): Combat of Two Pages. *Second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Van den Berghe)*

166. *Sassanian Art. Firuzabad (Fars).* Victory of Ardashir I over Artabanus V (detail): The Crown Prince Shapur vanquishing the Parthian Grand Vizier Darbendan. *Second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (After E. Herzfeld, pl. CIX b)*

167. *Sassanian Art. Firuzabad (Fars), on the cliffs beside the Tang-i-Ab river.* Investiture of Ardashir I, overall view. *Second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

168. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Equestrian Investiture of Ardashir I by the God Ahuramazda. *Second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

169. *Greco-Scythian Art. Karagodeuashkl (South Russia).* Drinking Horn with Investiture Scene on Horseback. *4th-3rd centuries B.C. Hermitage, Leningrad. Silver. (After Rostovtzeff, 1931-32, pl. LXII)*

170. Map of the Sites and Monuments of the Sassanian Empire.

171. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Victory of Shapur I (241-272) over the Roman Emperor Valerian (detail): Shapur I. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Hervé)*

172. *Sassanian Art. Ctesiphon.* Façade of the Palace (the Taq-i Kisra). *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Brick and stone, in situ. (Photo Giraudon, after Dieulafoy)*
State of the façade in the late 19th century (after Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, 1884, Vol. V, pl. III); part of it has now collapsed. The dating of these important ruins is still a matter of controversy, some attributing them to Shapur I (3rd century), others to Chosroes (sixth century).

173. *Sassanian Art. Ctesiphon.* Plan of the Palace (the Taq-i Kisra). *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. (After O. Reuther,* A Survey of Persian Art, *edited by A. Upham Pope, Vol. I, fig. 155)*

174. *Sassanian Art. Shushtar (Khuzistan).* Bridge of the Karun River Dam. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Stone, length 1,800 feet, in situ (just outside the town of Shushtar). (Photo Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd., London)*
The bridge now has only 28 arches on the left bank, and 7 on the right bank.

175. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Ruins of the Fortress. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. In situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*
Visible in the foreground is one of the troughs in which dead bodies were exposed to the elements.

176. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Aerial View of Bishapur. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. (Photo E. Schmidt, by courtesy of the Aeronautical Department, Mary Helen Warden Schmidt Foundation)*

177. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Reconstruction of the Palace of Shapur I. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Louvre, Paris. Model by A.P. Hardy. (Museum Photo)*

178. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Medallions with Acanthus Leaves decorating the vaults of the Great Hall in the Palace of Shapur I. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Painted Stucco. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

179. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Niche with Stucco Decoration on the side wall of the Great Hall in the Palace of Shapur I. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Louvre, Paris. Stucco painted yellow, red and black. (Museum Photo)*
See the reconstruction by A.P. Hardy *(fig. 177)*.

180. *Irano-Roman Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Palace of Shapur I. Floor Mosaic of the Iwan, south-west side (detail): Young Woman seated, weaving a Garland. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Mosaic, 26 3/4 by 26 1/4 inches. (Photo Draeger, after a copy made by Mme T. Ghirshman)*

181. *Irano-Roman Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Palace of Shapur I. Floor Mosaic in the Iwan, south-west side (detail): Lady holding a Bouquet and a Garland. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Mosaic, 30 3/4 by 22 3/4 inches. (Photo Draeger, after a copy made by Mme T. Ghirshman)*

182. *Irano-Roman Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Palace of Shapur I. Floor Mosaic in the Iwan, south-west side (detail): Woman playing a Harp. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Louvre, Paris. Mosaic, 33 1/2 by 25 1/4 inches. (Photo Draeger, after a copy made by Mme T. Ghirshman)*

183. *Irano-Roman Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Palace of Shapur I. Floor Mosaic in the Iwan, south-west side (detail): Portrait of a Young Woman, full-face, wearing a Garland with an Animal's Horn. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Panel (four portraits) divided between the Louvre and the Teheran Museum. Mosaic. The entire panel of four portraits measures 41 3/4 by 12 1/4 inches. (Photo Draeger, after a copy made by Mme T. Ghirshman)*
Judging by the garland, this young woman and her husband (No. 185) were persons of importance in the Sassanian Empire.

184. *Irano-Roman Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Palace of Shapur I. Floor Mosaic of the Iwan, south-west side (detail): Portrait of an Old Man, in three-quarter view, seen from the right. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Mosaic (destroyed), 23 1/2 by 8 1/2 inches. (Photo Draeger, after a copy made by Mme T. Ghirshman)*

185. *Irano-Roman Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Palace of Shapur I. Floor Mosaic of the Iwan, south-west side (detail): Portrait of a Man, in three-quarter view, from the right, wearing a Garland with Laurels and Animals' Horns. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Panel of four portraits divided between the Louvre and the Teheran Museum. The entire panel measures 41 3/4 by 12 1/4 inches. (Photo Draeger, after a copy made by Mme T. Ghirshman)*
Cf. No. 183.

186. *Irano-Roman Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Palace of Shapur I. Floor Mosaic of the Iwan, south-west side (detail): Lady reclining on Cushions. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Mosaic, 34 by 26 inches. (Photo Draeger, after a copy made by Mme T. Ghirshman)*

187. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Cavalryman charging. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Stone, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*
Must have been a decorative element of the façade of Palace B, the 'Stone Palace' to the east of the Palace of Shapur I.

188. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Two Standing Figures. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Stone, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*
Presumably adorned the façade of Palace B, the 'Stone Palace' to the east of the Palace of Shapur I.

189. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Fire Temple. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Large blocks of stone and rubble, in situ. Height of the walls 45 feet. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*
Stands next to the Palace of Shapur I and was probably dedicated to Anahita.

190. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Fire Temple: Foreparts of a Kneeling Bull. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Stone, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*
Supported the wooden beams of the central hall.

191. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Plan of the Fire Temple. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Hall 45 feet square, lying 22 feet below ground-level. (After the survey of A.P. Hardy)*

192. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Elements of a Fire Altar: Base, Column, Table. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Stone, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*
Seems to have come from the fire temple.

193. *Sassanian Art. Tang-i-Chak-Chak (Laristan).* Fire Monument: Chahar Tagh and Atashkadah. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Ashlar bonded with plaster. Chahar Tagh, width 41 feet, height 16 1/2 feet. Atashkadah, width 34 feet, height to the top of the dome 16 1/2 feet. (Photo Van den Berghe)*

194. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Votive Monument with Two Columns, on Bases, erected for Shapur I. *Dated 266 A.D. Stone, in situ, height of the columns c. 21 feet. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*
The inscription in Pahlavi-Sassanian and Pahlavi-Parthian, on the shaft of one of the columns, dates the monument and reveals its purpose.

195. *Sassanian Art.* Victory of Shapur I over the Roman Emperor Valerian. *4th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Sardonyx with three layers, dark brown, bluish-white and russet, carved in the shape of an ellipse. Height 2 5/8 inches, width 1/2 an inch, thickness 3/8 of an inch. (Photo Bibliothèque Nationale)*

196. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Triumph of Shapur I, overall view. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. (after 260). Bas-relief, in situ, on a concave rock-face in the gorge of Bishapur. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

197. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Triumph of Shapur I (detail): Capture of the Emperor Valerian by the Great King and Submission of Philip the Arab. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. (after 260). Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo John Russell)*

198. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Triumph of Shapur I (detail): Putto bringing the Diadem to the Great King. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. (after 260). Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo John Russell)*

199. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Triumph of Shapur I (detail): Gordian III prostrate. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. (after 260). Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo John Russell)*

200. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Triple Victory of Shapur I, with Sassanian Nobles on Horseback, Roman Prisoners and Persians carrying Booty, overall view. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. (after 260). Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

201. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Investiture of Shapur I by Ahuramazda (detail): Head of Ahriman. *Before 260 A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

202. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Investiture of Shapur I by Ahuramazda and Triumph of the King, overall view. *Before 260 A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

203. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Investiture and triumph of Shapur I (detail): Gordian III prostrate. *Before 260 A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

204. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Triumph of Shapur I (detail): Philip the Arab. *Second half of the 3rd century (after 260). Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Hervé)*

205. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Triumph of Shapur I, overall view. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. (after 260). Rock Relief, in situ, beneath the tomb of the Achaemenid king Darius I. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

206. *Sassanian Art. Darab (ancient Darabgerd).* Triumph of Shapur I, overall view. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Bas-relief, in situ, carved at the back of a niche hewn in the rock. (After Sir Aurel Stein,* An Archaeological Tour in Ancient Persia, Iraq, *Vol. III, Part 2, 1936, fig. 28)*

207. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (4 miles from the gorge with bas-reliefs).* Funerary Cave of Shapur I, the so-called 'Mudan Cave.' *Second half of the 3rd century (after 272). In situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*
On the ground, at the entrance, lies the monumental statue of the king.

208. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Mudan Cave).* Colossal Statue of Shapur I. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. (after 272). Stone, in situ, height 26 feet. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

209. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Mudan Cave).* Colossal Statue of Shapur I. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. (after 272). Stone, in situ, height 26 feet. (Photo Claude Deffarge-Rapho)*

210a-b-c-d. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Four Sides of an Ossuary adorned with Deities. *Sassanian Period. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Stone. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

211. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Investiture of Bahram I. 273-276 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

212. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Bahram II with Members of his Family (detail). 276-293 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

213. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Bahram II with Members of his Family, overall view. 276-293 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*
Carved on the site of an Elamite bas-relief of the late 3rd millennium B.C., of which vestiges remain.

214. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Bahram (Fars).* Bahram II enthroned, between Four Dignitaries. 276-293 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

215. *Sassanian Art. Sar Meshed (Fars).* Bahram II defending his Wife and Son from Two Lions. 276-293 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Rostamy)*
This bas-relief is surmounted by one of the longest extant inscriptions in Pahlavi-Sassanian.

216. *Sassanian Art. Sar Meshed (Fars).* Head of Bahram II, detail of No. 215. 276-293 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Rostamy)*

217. *Sassanian Art. Sar Meshed (Fars).* Head of the Queen, Wife of Bahram II, detail of No. 215. 276-293 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Rostamy)*

218. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Investiture of King Narsah by the Goddess Anahita. 293-302 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Hervé)*

219. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Hormizd II unseating an Adversary, detail of No. 220. 303-309 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Hervé)*

220. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Hormizd II charging and unseating his Adversary. 303-309 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

221. *Sassanian Art. Eiwan-i-Kerkha (15 miles upstream from Susa).* Aerial View of the Remains of Eiwan-i-Kerkha. *4th century A.D. (Photo Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd., London)*

222a-b. *Sassanian Art. Sarvistan (Fars), 6 miles from the village.* Façade and Plan of the Palace. *5th century A.D. (After O. Reuther,* A Survey of Persian Art, *edited by A. Upham Pope, Vol. I, fig. 142 & 151)*

223. *Sassanian Art. Dura Europos.* Horsemen fighting (detail). *3rd century A.D. Fresco. (After Rostovtzeff,* L'Art gréco-iranien, *RAA, VII,* 1931-32, *pl. LXVII a)*

224. *Sassanian Art. Susa.* Hunting Scene. *3rd-4th centuries A.D. Fresco. (After a copy made by Maxime Rihet)*

225. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Triumph of Shapur II, overall view. 309-379 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roman Ghirshman)*

226. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Triumph of Shapur II (detail): The King Enthroned. 309-379 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roger Viollet)*

227. *Sassanian Art. Nizamabad (near Teheran).* Horse's Head. *Sassanian Period. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Islamische Abteilung. Stucco. (Museum Photo)*
From clandestine excavations made in 1926 in the plain of Varamin (Iraq).

228a. *Sassanian Art. Kish (Mesopotamia).* Head of Bahram Gur(?). 421-438 *A.D. Baghdad Museum. Stucco. (Museum Photo)*

228b. *Sassanian Art.* Head of Kavad I (?). *6th century A.D. The Art Institute of Chicago. Stucco, height 4 3/4 inches. (Photo Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)*

229. *Sassanian Art. Chahar Tarkhan.* Hunting Scene with King Peroz. *5th century A.D. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Stucco, 33 by 56 inches. (Museum Photo)*

230. *Sassanian Art. Kish (Mesopotamia).* 'Woman at the Window.' *5th century A.D. (?). Baghdad Museum. Stucco. (Museum Photo)*

231. *Sassanian Art. Plain of Varamin (Iraq).* Wall Decoration with Geometric and Plant Designs. *Sassanian Period. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Islamische Abteilung. Stucco. (Museum Photo)*

232a. *Sassanian Art. Ctesiphon.* Wall Decoration with Scrollwork and Acorns. *Sassanian Period. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Islamische Abteilung. Stucco. (Museum Photo)*

232b. *Sassanian Art. Ctesiphon.* Wall Decoration: Tile with Beaded Circle decorated with Outspread Wings surmounted by a brief inscription in Pahlavi. *Sassanian Period. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Islamische Abteilung. Stucco 15 1/2 by 15 1/2 inches. (Museum Photo)*

233. *Sassanian Art. Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah (Kurdistan).* Investiture of Ardashir II. 379-383 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Claude Deffarge-Rapho)*

234. *Sassanian Art. Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah (Kurdistan).* Investiture of Ardashir II (detail): Vanquished Enemy lying at the King's Feet. 379-383 *A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (After Pope)*

235. *Sassanian Art. Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah (Kurdistan).* Investiture and Equestrian Statue of King Peroz. *5th century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Claude Deffarge-Rapho)*
On the back wall of the large cave or central iwan.

236. *Sassanian Art. Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah (Kurdistan).* Royal Boar Hunt. *5th century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Giraudon)*
On the lefthand side wall of the large cave or central iwan.

237. *Sassanian Art. Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah (Kurdistan).* Royal Stag Hunt. *5th century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Claude Deffarge-Rapho)*
On the righthand side wall of the large cave or central iwan.

238. *Sassanian Art. Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah (Kurdistan).* Royal Boar Hunt (detail): Mounted Elephants. *5th century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Giraudon)*

239a. *Sassanian Art. Damghan.* Tile with a Boar's Head framed in a Circle. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Stucco Relief, 15 3/4 inches square. (Photo Rostamy)*

239b. *Sassanian Art. Ctesiphon.* Panel with a Leaping Bear. *6th century A.D. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Islamische Abteilung. Stucco Wall Panel, 11 1/4 by 15 inches. (Museum Photo)*

240. *Sassanian Art. Ctesiphon.* Tile with a Peacock framed in a Circle. *6th century A.D. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Islamische Abteilung. Stucco Decoration, height 11 3/4 inches. (Museum Photo)*

241. *Sassanian Art.* Ewer decorated with Stags in Medallions. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Private Collection, New York. Silver gilt, height 15 3/4 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

242. *Sassanian Art.* Boat-shaped Bowl with Banquet Scene: Sassanid King enthroned, with Dancing Girls. *6th-7th centuries A.D. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Silver repoussé, height 3 inches, width 10 1/2 inches, weight 758.5 grammes. (Photo Draeger)*

243. *Sassanian Art. Kerman Region.* Horse's Head. *4th century A.D. Louvre, Paris. Silver gilt, height 5 1/2, width 7 7/8 inches. (Photo Draeger)*
Probably formed the support of a Sassanian throne.

244. *Sassanian Art.* Cup of Chosroes I: The King, full-face, seated on a Throne upheld by Two Winged Horses. *6th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (No. 2358). Solid gold frame inlaid with coloured glass paste (red, white, green); central intaglio of rock crystal. Diameter 11 inches, depth 1 3/8 inch. (Photo Draeger)*
This drinking vessel, the so-called 'Cup of Solomon,' is supposed to have been presented to Charlemagne by Harun al-Rashid. At one time in the treasure of Saint-Denis. Successively attributed to Chosroes I (531-578) and to Kavad I (488-496 and 499-531).

245. *Sassanian Art. Strelka (Perm).* Bowl with Chosroes I: The King enthroned between Four Dignitaries; below, Hunting Scene. *6th century A.D. Hermitage, Leningrad. Chased and incised silver, partially gilt. (After N. Orbeli and C. Trever,* 1935*)*

246. *Sassanian Art. Kazvin.* Cup with King (Chosroes I?) enthroned in a Niche between Two Attendants. *6th century A.D.(?). Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Silver gilt. (Photo Razavi)*

247. *Sassanian Art.* Drinking Bowl: Hunting Scene with a Sassanid King on Horseback. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Private Collection, New York. Silver with traces of gold, diameter* 16 1/2 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*

248. *Sassanian Art. Sari (Mazandaran).* Dish with Royal Lion Hunt. *3rd-4th century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Chased and incised silver, height* 2 3/8 *inches, diameter* 11 1/4 *inches, weight* 1262 *grammes. (Photo Draeger)*
Found in November 1954 by an employee at the brick-kiln of Sari, on the railway line from Teheran to the Caspian.

249. *Sassanian Art. Sari (Mazandaran).* Dish with Royal Lion Hunt (detail): Dying Lion. *3rd-4th century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Silver. (Photo Draeger)*
See No. 248.

250. *Sassanian Art. Sari (Mazandaran).* Dish with Royal Lion Hunt (detail): Mounted Hunter turning back to let fly an Arrow. *3rd-4th century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Silver. (Photo Draeger)*
See No. 248.

251. *Sassanian Art. Sari (Mazandaran).* Dish with Royal Lion Hunt (detail): Wounded Lion behind the Hunter. *3rd-4th century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Silver. (Photo Draeger)*
See No. 248.

252. *Sassanian Art.* Bowl: King Chosroes II (?) hunting Wild Animals. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Silver partially gilt, diameter* 12 *inches; design cast, chased and inlaid with niello. (Photo Draeger)*
The king is usually identified as Chosroes II (590-627), but some details of the crown correspond to those on coins of Yazdgard III (632-651). This bowl, once in the treasure of the Emirs of Badakhsham, was presented to the Cabinet des Médailles by the Duc de Luynes.

253. *Sassanian Art.* Bowl: King Shapur II on Horseback hunting Two Lions with Bow and Arrow. *4th century A.D. Hermitage, Leningrad. Chased silver with traces of gilding, diameter* 9 *inches. (Museum Photo)*

254. *Sassanian Art. Deilaman.* Dish with a Hunting Scene: Sassanid King (Shapur II?), on foot, killing a Deer with his Sword. *4th century A.D. Désiré Kettaneh Collection, Beirut. Chased silver in slight relief, height* 1 1/2 *inch, width* 10 3/4 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*

255. *Sassanian Art. Iran.* Leg of a Throne in the form of a Griffin. *David-Weill Collection, Paris. Bronze. (Collection Photo)*

256. *Sassanian Art. Kalar Dasht Region (Mazandaran).* Jug decorated with Four Dancing Girls and a Simurgh (detail): Girl surrounded by Animals, dancing in a Bower of Vine Branches. *6th century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Silver gilt, height* 10 3/8 *inches, diameter* 6 1/4 *inches, weight* 945 *grammes. Design in relief on a gilt ground. (Photo Draeger)*
Nearly all the extant examples of Sassanian silverplate have been found in South Russia. This jug is one of the very few pieces so far discovered in Iran.

257. *Sassanian Art. Mazandaran.* Cup decorated with Female Musicians separated by rows of inlaid hearts (detail): Woman playing the Arghanum. *6th century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Silver cast, incised and inlaid, height* 3 1/2 *inches, diameter* 10 1/8 *inches, weight* 817 *grammes. (Photo Draeger)*
Inscribed with the owner's name: 'Hurmuzd, son of Nargash.' Recently discovered with two other cups, one of which, very similar to this in decoration, bears an inscription in Pahlavi. See Ghirshman, *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, pp. 77-82.

258. *Sassanian Art.* Boat-shaped Bowl with a Banquet Scene showing a Sassanid King enthroned, with Dancing Girls (detail): Nude Dancing Girl throwing her Veil into the Air. *6th-7th centuries A.D. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Silver, height* 3 *inches, width* 10 1/2 *inches, weight* 758.5 *grammes. (Photo Draeger)*
See No. 242.

259. *Sassanian Art.* Bowl with Royal Banquet. *6th-7th centuries A.D. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Silver, height* 2 1/8 *inches, width* 9 1/8 *inches, weight* 629 *grammes. (Photo Draeger)*

260. *Sassanian Art. Northern India.* Drinking Bowl with a Simurgh in a Circle of Interlocking Designs. *Sassanian Period. British Museum, London. Silver, diameter* 7 5/8 *inches. (Museum Photo)*

261. *Sassanian Art.* Drinking Bowl with a Winged Lion standing on a Bare Rock. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Nelson Art Gallery, Kansas City. Silver gilt. (Museum Photo, Mallon)*

262. *Sassanian Art. Deilaman.* Rhyton in the form of a War-horse, lying down, with Two Figures in Medallions on the Shoulders. *3rd century A.D. Miss Dolores Selikowitz Collection, New York. Silver gilt, height* 8 7/8 *inches, length* 13 3/4 *inches, weight* 995 *grammes. (Photo Draeger)*

263a. *Sassanian Art.* Rhyton. Gazelle's Head. *4th-5th centuries A.D. Guennol Collection, New York. Silver gilt, height with horns* 10 *inches, height of head alone* 4 *inches, weight* 860.7 *grammes. (Photo Draeger)*

263b. *Sassanian Art.* Rhyton. Horse's Head. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Cincinnati Art Museum (No.* 1960.495). *Silver, height* 10 1/2 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*

264. *Sassanian Art. Susa.* Cupel of engraved Rock Crystal, set in a Gold Mount, originally inlaid. *Sassanian Period. Louvre, Paris. (Photo Draeger)*

265. *Sassanian Art.* Gold Belt Buckle, inlaid with hyacinths (jewels). An inscription on the back in Pahlavi gives the name of its owner, 'Ardashir.' *4th century A.D. Wiesbaden Museum. (Photo Marburg)*
Found with a coin of the Roman emperor Valens (364-378) at Wolfsheim, Germany.

266. *Sassanian Art.* Pendant in the form of a Wild Boar. *Erwin Oppeländer Collection, Stuttgart. Gold with reliefs on the shoulder and haunch. (Photo Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg)*

267. *Sassanian Art. Lajvard (Mazandaran).* Bust of a Sassanid King. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Louvre, Paris (acquired* 1952, *MA* 0122). *Bronze, height* 12 5/8 *inches, width* 9 3/8 *inches, thickness* 4 1/8 *inches. (Museum Photo)*
Must have stood on a floral support.

268. *Sassanian Art.* Head of a Princess. *Bronze and iron. (Photo Razavi)*

Bought on the art market at Teheran. Head fastened to the end of a long iron rod.

269. *Sassanian Art.* Bust of a Sassanid King. *6th-7th centuries A.D. E. Borowski Collection, Basel. Bronze, height* 14 1/2 *inches, width* 7 7/8 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*

270. *Sassanian Art. Taq-i-Bustan (Kurdistan).* Boar Hunt (detail): Costumes of the King and the Boatmen patterned with Figurative Designs. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Rock Relief, in situ, lefthand side wall of the cave. (Photo Giraudon)*

271. *Sassanian Art. Rayy (ancient Rhagae, near Teheran).* Simurgh in a Beaded Medallion. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Vignier Collection. Stucco bas-relief from a wall revetment, height* 6 1/4 *inches, width* 6 1/8, *length* 5 7/8. *(Photo Giraudon)*

272. *Sassanian Art. Taq-i-Bustan (Kurdistan).* Simurgh on the Robe of the Mounted King. *About* 600 *A.D. Stone bas-relief, in situ. (After Otto van Falke,* 1936*).*

273. *Sassano-Egyptian Art. Antinoe (Egypt).* Textile patterned with Roundels: Beribboned Ram. *6th-7th centuries. Silk. (After Toll,* 1932*)*

274. *Sassanian Art. Ctesiphon.* Peacock in a Medallion. *Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Islamische Abteilung. Stucco wall panel, height* 11 3/4 *inches. (Museum Photo)*

275. *Sassanian Art.* Textile patterned with Roundels: Simurgh. *7th century A.D. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (former V. Gay Collection). Silk with yellow designs on green ground. (Museum Photo)*

This silk, in which the relics of St Lupus were wrapped, is now divided between the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

276. *Sassanian Art.* Textile patterned with Roundels: Simurgh. *7th century A.D. Museo Nazionale, Florence. Silk, diameter of the medallion* 60 1/2 *inches. (Photo Scala)*

277. *Sassano-Egyptian Art. Antinoe (Egypt).* Textile with Beribboned Rams facing in opposite directions. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Musée des Tissus, Lyons (No.* 365*). Silk. (Photo R. Basset)*

278. *Sassano-Egyptian Art. Antinoe (Egypt).* Textile with Winged Horse in a Roundel. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Louvre, Paris (MG* 1138*). Silk, pink with dark blue thread,* 6 3/4 *by* 4 7/8 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*

279. *Sassanian Art.* Textile patterned with Roundels: Bird (stylized Asiatic *phasianus* ?). *7th-8th centuries A.D. Treasure of the Sancta Sanctorum, Lateran, Rome. Golden yellow silk (lampas). Black medallion with large yellow beads. Bird outlined in black. Red, yellow and black patches. (Photo Scala)*

Textile in a very poor state of preservation, reconstituted with great difficulty.

280. *Sassanian Art.* Textile patterned with Roundels: Nimbed Cock. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Treasure of the Sancta Sanctorum, Lateran, Rome. Raw yellow silk (fragment), with red, blue and lilac designs. Height* 14 *inches, length* 29 1/4 *inches, diameter of the medallion* 10 1/2 *inches. (Photo Scala)*

281. *Sassanian Art. Astana (Chinese Turkestan).* Textile patterned with Roundels: Head of a Wild Boar. *6th-7th centuries A.D. New Delhi Museum. Silk, diameter* 9 *inches. (After Pope)*

282. *Art of Eastern Iran.* Textile patterned with Roundels: Stylized Lions confronted on either side of the Tree of Life, with Animals Passant and specifically Sassanian Palmettes. *8th-9th centuries A.D. Musée Lorrain, Nancy. Silk, height* 35 1/2 *inches, length* 34 1/4, *diameter of the roundel* 27 1/2. *(Museum Photo)*

From the reliquary of St Amon in the church of Saint-Gengoult at Toul.

283. *Art of Eastern Iran.* Textile patterned with Roundels: Stylized Lions confronted on a Terrace, with superimposed Animals on either side of the Tree of Life. *8th-9th centuries A.D. Treasure of Sens Cathedral (No.* 13*, Inventaire du chanoine Chartraire,* 1897*). Thick silk, beige and dark blue designs on buff ground. Height* 94 1/2, *length* 46 1/2 *inches. (Photo Studio Allix)*

Textile divided in two in 853 on the occasion of the simultaneous translation of the relics of St Columba and St Lupus. Now brought together again, the two parts form a magnificent carpet complete with its floss-silk borders.

284. *Art of Eastern Iran.* Textile patterned with Roundels: Stylized and Confronted Lions, with Cross-shaped Fleurons. *8th-9th centuries A.D. Treasure of the Sancta Sanctorum, Vatican City. Lilac-purple silk (made up of two fragments) with red, purple, green and pink designs. Height* 29 1/2 *inches, length* 23 1/2 *inches, roundel c.* 10 *by* 6 *inches. (Photo Scala)*

Silk with braided edges. Siglas on the lions' bodies (three Greek letters ΟΣΟ and ΟϽΟ).

285. *Sassanian Art. Egypt (?).* Part of a Tapestry. Medallion with Two Horsemen with Bows and Arrows, above addorsed, superimposed animals. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Musée des Tissus, Lyons (No.* 323*). Tapestry, wool and linen designs on a scarlet ground, height* 7 *inches, length* 7 7/8 *inches. (Photo R. Basset)*

286. *Sassanian Art. Egypt (?).* Textile patterned with Roundels : Confronted Horsemen on either side of the Tree of Life. *7th century A.D. Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin, and Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg. Blue silk. (Photo Giraudon)*

287. *Byzantine Art in the Sassanian Tradition.* Textile with Tangential Medallions: Huntsmen, on foot, with dogs, slaying lions. *7th century A.D. Treasure of the Sancta Sanctorum, Vatican City (No.* 29814*). Purple silk with black, yellow and blue designs. (Photo Scala)*

Served as the pad of an enamelled cross.

288. *Islamic Art in the Sassanian Tradition.* Textile with Tangential Medallions: Two Confronted Horsemen, hawking, on either side of a Palm Tree. *10th-11th centuries A.D.(?). K. Rabenou Collection, New York. Silk,* 39 *by* 19 1/2 *inches. (Photo Liebman)*

289. *Sassano-Egyptian Art. Antinoe (Egypt).* Tapestry. Chosroes I watching a Battle of Mounted Archers and Abyssinians of the Kingdom of Axum(?). *6th-7th centuries A.D. Musée des Tissus, Lyons (No.* 243*). Woollen tapestry, coloured designs on beige ground,* 29 1/2 *by* 19 1/2 *inches. (Photo R. Basset)*

290. *Islamic Art in the Sassanian Tradition.* Textile. Investiture Scene; Hunting Scene with Bahram Gur; Two Felines fastened by their collars to the Tree of Life. *10th century (?). Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn. Silk. (Museum Photo)*
Two other fragments of this silk are in the G. Myers Collection (U.S.A.) and the Moore Collection (U.S.A.).

291a. *Sassanian Art.* Pear-shaped Jug with Handle. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Archaeological Museum, Teheran. Blown glass. (Photo Razavi)*

291b. *Sassanian Art.* Bowl with Medallions in Relief enclosing Winged Horses. *Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Islamische Abteilung. Moulded glass, height 3 inches. (Museum Photo)*

292a. *Sassanian Art. Deilaman.* Cup with Stem, with Ribbon Designs in Relief. *7th century A.D. Foroughi Collection, Teheran. Blue glass, height 2 1/2 inches, diameter 5/8 of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*

292b. *Sassanian Art. Deilaman.* Cup with Incised Honeycomb Pattern. *7th century A.D. Foroughi Collection, Teheran. Thick glass, height 2 1/4 inches, width 4 1/4 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

292c. *Sassanian Art. Deilaman.* Cup with Relief Decoration. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Foroughi Collection, Teheran. Green transparent glass, height 3 3/8 inches, width 4 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

293. *Sassanian Art.* Cameo with the Bust of a King (possibly Kavad, 488-531) in left profile, wearing a High Tiara with a crenellated crown, surmounted by a globe with the Lunar Crescent. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (No. 1405). Carnelian, height 1 1/4 inches, width 1 inch. (Photo Draeger)*

294a. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Bust of the High Dignitary Vahuden Shapur in right profile, with Crown adorned with Palmettes, a pointed beard and long curly hair falling round his neck. *British Museum, London. (Museum Photo)*

294b. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Bust of a Queen in three-quarter view, head in right profile, with beaded headdress with ear-flaps and crenellated Crown. *Foroughi Collection, Teheran. (Photo Razavi)*

294c. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Bahram IV (388-399), standing, body in front view, head in left profile, trampling an enemy underfoot. *British Museum, London. (Museum Photo)*

294d. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: The Lady Hadgardukht, standing, in right profile, holding a flower. *From the art market, Teheran. (Photo Razavi)*

294e. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Couple, holding hands. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B. N. Cat. Chabouillet, No. 1332). Carnelian, height 5/8 of an inch, width 1/2 inch. (Photo Draeger)*
With an inscription in Pahlavi.

294f. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Bust of a Man, full-face, between two outspread wings, head in right profile, headdress forming a roll over brow and ears, pointed beard schematically represented. *British Museum, London (No. 119992). (Museum Photo)*

294g. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Bust of a Man, full-face, with a round bonnet adorned with beads and wings, his curly hair forming a tuft over each ear. *British Museum, London. (Museum Photo)*

295a. *Sassanian Art, of Western Conception.* Intaglio: Horseman facing right. *British Museum, London (No. 119386). (Museum Photo)*

295b. & c. *Sassanian Art.* Two Intaglios: Equestrian Investiture Scenes, with Prostrate Enemy. *Hermitage, Leningrad. (After Rostovtzeff, 1931-32, pl. XLII)*

295d. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Mounted Hunter letting fly an Arrow, with Gazelle, Moufflon and Deer in flight. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B. N. No. M. 6754). Veined agate, diameter 1 inch. (Photo Draeger)*
With an inscription in Pahlavi.

296. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Banquet Scene, with seated woman, her head in profile, her hair clasped in a bandeau and falling in curls over her shoulders, with a seated child, in left profile, at her side. *British Museum, London. (Museum Photo)*
The same type of seat reappears in the following intaglio (No. 297).

297. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Banquet Scene, with seated figure on the right to whom a woman on the left hands a cup. *British Museum, London. (Museum Photo)*

298. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Mithras, full-face, drawn by two Winged Horses. *Berlin Museum. (After E. Herzfeld, 1920)*

299. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Bust of a God full-face, amid Flames, above a Fire Altar. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. No. C 2971). Veined, oviform agate, diameter 1 1/2 inches. (Cliché Draeger)*
Pahlavi inscription in two circular lines, one within the other.

300. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Hunter, facing right, fighting a Six-headed Hydra. *Henri Seyrig Collection. Whitish chalcedony or onyx. Photo same size as original or very slightly larger. (Collection Photo)*

301. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Gryllus combining human head with a lion's(?) and a bird's. *Private Collection. (Collection Photo)*

302a. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Monogram. *British Museum, London (No. 119979). (Museum Photo)*

302b. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Five Animals' Bodies with One Head. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. No. D 3375). Smoked rock crystal; cone, height 5/8 of an inch, length 3/4 of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*

302c. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Three-headed Deity. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. No. D 3730). Striped agate; cone, diameter 3/4 of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*

302d. *Sassanian Art.* Intaglio: Two-headed Ibex. *British Museum, London (No. 119848). (Museum Photo)*

303. *Sassanian Art.* Bulla with Sassanian Seal Impressions. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Roman Ghirshman Collection. Unbaked clay. (Photo Razavi)*

304. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Ardashir I (224-241), right profile, wearing the Tiara. *3rd century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1908*). Silver coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, a fire temple.

305. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Shapur I (241-272), right profile, wearing the crenellated crown surmounted with the korymbos, a ribbon drawn over a curly tuft of his beard. *3rd century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1909). *Gold coin, diameter* 7/8 *of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar of Artaxerxes I.

306. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Hormizd I (272-273), right profile, wearing a voluted cap surmounted with the korymbos, hair streaming down, a ring drawn over a curly tuft of his beard. *3rd century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1910). *Silver coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar of Artaxerxes I.

307. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Bahram I (273-276), right profile, with cap adorned with flames and the korymbos above it. *3rd century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1911). *Silver coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar of Artaxerxes I.

308. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Bahram II (276-293), his Wife and the Crown Prince; the king in right profile, with round bonnet adorned with wings and surmounted with the korymbos; the queen with a boar's-head headdress; the prince facing them, with an eagle-shaped cap, *3rd century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, a fire altar.

309. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Bahram III (293), right profile, with bonnet, crenellated crown and korymbos. *3rd century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1913). *Silver coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar of Artaxerxes I.

310. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Narsah (293-302), right profile, wearing crown adorned with palmettes and surmounted with the korymbos. *3rd-4th centuries A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. exp. No.* 1914). *Silver coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar of Artaxerxes I.

311. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Hormizd II (302-309) and the Queen, right profile, the king with an eagle-shaped headdress. *Early 4th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1912). *Gold coin, diameter* 3/4 *of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, a fire altar.

312. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Shapur II (309-379), right profile, wearing a stepped and crenellated crown surmounted with the korymbos. *4th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1915). *Gold coin, diameter* 3/4 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, a fire altar.

313. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Ardashir II (379-383), right profile, with a round cap, diadem and draped korymbos. *4th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar framed by two figures.

314. *Sassanian Art.* Cup. Hunting Scene with a Sassanid King on Horseback (detail): The King with Bow and Arrow, wearing a crenellated crown surmounted by a Crescent containing a Globe. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Private Collection, New York. Silver with traces of gold, diameter* 16 1/2 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
Cf. No. 247.

315. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Shapur III (383-388), right profile, wearing a 'mortier' type of cap, surmounted with the korymbos. *4th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar framed by two figures.

316. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Yazdgard I (399-420), right profile, wearing a round bonnet surmounted with the korymbos, a crescent over the brow and a stepped crenel at the side. *4th-5th centuries A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 1/8 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar with two figures.

317. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Bahram V (420-438), right profile, with a crenellated crown surmounted with the crescent and the korymbos. *5th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 1/4 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, flaming fire altar between two figures, with the *feruer* (image of Ormuzd) in front.

318. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Peroz (or Firuz, 457-484), facing right, with a crenellated crown adorned in front with the crescent and surmounted by a crescent containing the korymbos. *5th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1917). *Silver coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar between two figures.

319. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Kavad I (488-496 and 499-531), facing right, wearing a crown with a crescent in front and a broad crescent at the top containing the korymbos. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 1/8 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar between two figures.

320. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Valash (496-499), facing right, wearing a cap with a crown surmounted by a crescent containing the korymbos. *5th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 *inch. (Photo Draeger)*
Name of the king inscribed on the right. On the reverse, fire altar between two figures, with the *feruer* (image of Ormuzd) in front of the altar.

321. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Chosroes I (531-578), facing right, wearing a crown; three crescents at the side. *6th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1918). *Silver coin, diameter* 1 1/4 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar between two figures.

322. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Chosroes I (531-578). Bust of a Woman (the Favourite?), full-face, on the reverse side. *6th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1919). *Gold coin, diameter* 7/8 *of an inch. (Photo Draeger)*
On the obverse, bust of the king, right profile.

323. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Hormizd IV (578-590), facing right, with a winged crown surmounted by the korymbos within a crescent; at the side, three crescents containing a star. *6th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 1/4 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar watched over by two schematized figures; in front, the *feruer.*

324. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Chosroes II (590-627), facing right, with cap and crenellated crown with two outspread wings and a terminal crescent enclosing a star. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 1/4 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar (No. 325).

325. *Sassanian Art.* Coin. Chosroes II (590-627), reverse: Flaming Fire Altar flanked by two figures; in front of the altar, the *feruer* (image of Ormuzd); at the side, four crescents each containing a star. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 1/4 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
On the obverse, Chosroes II (No. 324).

326. *Sassanian Art. Excavations at Susa.* Coin. Ardashir III (628-630), facing right, beardless, with youthful features and crenellated crown surmounted by the crescent and the korymbos; on his breast, tear-shaped jewels. *7th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1920). *Silver coin, diameter, from* 1 1/8 *to* 1 3/8 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar between two figures.

327. *Sassanian Art. Excavations at Susa.* Coin. Queen Buran (629), with braided hair and tiara-shaped headdress adorned with beads and surmounted by outspread wings, crescent and globe. *7th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 1/4 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar between two figures.

328. *Sassanian Art. Excavations at Susa.* Coin. Hormizd V (c. 631), wearing a headdress composed of cap, crenellated crown, two tall outspread wings, and a star within a crescent; at the side, three crescents each containing a star. *7th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. nouv. acq., unnumbered). Silver coin, diameter* 1 1/4 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*
On the reverse, fire altar between two figures, with the *feruer* in front of the altar.

329. *Sassanian Art. Excavations at Susa.* Coin. Yazdgard III (632-651), facing right, beardless, with crenellated crown surmounted by outspread wings, crescent and star, and wearing tear-drop jewels. Coin struck at DA(rabgerd) in the second year of his reign (633). *Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. anc. acq. exp. No.* 1921). *Silver coin, diameter* 1 1/4 *inches. (Photo Giraudon)*
On the reverse, fire altar between two figures.

330. *Iranian Art. Luristan.* Square-headed Pin, with Openwork. Two Figures standing on Animals and fighting with Other Animals. *8th-7th centuries B.C. Foroughi Collection, Teheran. Bronze, overall length* 19 1/2 *inches; height of plaque* 3 1/4 *inches, length* 3 1/8 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*

331. *Iranian Art. Luristan.* Votive Pin with Openwork Head enclosing a Horned Figure grappling with Animals. *8th-7th centuries B.C. Foroughi Collection, Teheran. Bronze, height* 3 3/4 *inches, width of plaque* 2 3/4 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*

332. *Scytho-Cimmerian Art. Noin Ula (Northern Mongolia).* Rug (detail) : Griffin attacking an Eland. *1st century B.C. Hermitage, Leningrad. Wool with quilted applied designs in leather. (Museum Photo)*
On this rug was placed the coffin of a Mongol chieftain, in the most richly furnished barrow on this site, explored by the Koslov Expedition, 1924-25.

333. *Art of the Steppes. Siberia.* Gold Plaque. *1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. Hermitage, Leningrad (Collection of Peter the Great). (After Rostovtzeff,* 1929)

334. *Chinese Art.* Bronze Openwork Plaque, with animals devouring each other. *Han Dynasty. Loo Collection. Bronze, height* 4 *inches. (After Rostovtzeff,* 1929)

335a. *Cimmerian Art. Taman (South Russia).* Belt Buckle: Confronted Animals. *7th century B.C. Hermitage, Leningrad. Bronze. (Museum Photo)*

335b. *Chinese Art.* Openwork Belt Buckle: Confronted Animals pouncing on Prey. *Han Dynasty. Loo Collection. Bronze, height* 2 1/4 *inches. (After Rostovtzeff,* 1929)

335c. *Chinese Art.* Openwork Belt Buckle, with animal motif. *Han Dynasty. Loo Collection. Bronze, height* 2 *inches. (After Rostovtzeff,* 1929)

335d. *Art of the Steppes. North-west India.* Gold Bracelet. *2nd-1st centuries B.C. Peshawar Museum. (Photo Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)*

336a. *Scythian Art. Barrow of the Seven Brothers (South Russia).* Psalia in the form of an animal. *5th century B.C. Hermitage, Leningrad. Bronze. (Museum Photo)*

336b. *Iranian Art. Luristan.* Animal-shaped Pinhead. *8th-7th centuries B.C. Foroughi Collection, Teheran. Bronze, length* 3 1/2 *inches. (Photo Hadi)*

336c. *Chinese Art.* Animal-shaped Clasp. *Han Dynasty. Loo Collection. Bronze. (After Rostovtzeff,* 1929)

337. *Sarmatian Art. Shores of the Black Sea.* Phalera. Animals hunting: in the centre, a hyena (?) devouring an antelope; above, two winged buffaloes pursuing a leopard; below, two confronted griffins with the head of an ox between them. *2nd century B.C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (B.N. inv. mon. or et ar. No.* 364*d*). *Silver gilt, diameter* 6 1/8 *inches, weight* 155 *grammes. (Photo Draeger)*

338. *Achaemenian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Tomb of Darius I (521-485 B.C.): The King sacrificing before an altar in the presence of the god Ahuramazda (upper register). *6th-5th centuries B.C. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Hervé)*

339. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rajab, near Istakhr (Fars).* Equestrian Investiture of Shapur I (241-272 A.D.): The King receiving the Royal Symbol from the God Ahuramazda. *3rd century A.D. Rock Relief carved in the Kuh-i Rahmat, in situ. (Photo Hervé)*

340. *Parthian Art.* Parthian Horseman. *1st-3rd centuries A.D. Formerly Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Terracotta, height* 6 3/4 *inches, length* 4 *inches. (Photo Draeger)*

341. *Sarmatian Art. Panticapaeum (Kerch), Crimea.* Wall Painting in a Tomb: Hunting Scene. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Fresco. (After Rostovtzeff,* 1931-32*)*

342. *Chinese Art.* Mural Decoration of a Tomb: Hunting Scene. *Han Dynasty. Stone. (Photo Draeger, after E. Chavannes)*

343. *Greco-Iranian Art. Perm (Russia).* Drinking Bowl: Hunters, on foot, and Two Crossed Lions. *Hermitage, Leningrad. Silver, diameter* 5 1/2 *inches. (Museum Photo)*

344. *Persian Art.* Textile with Hunting Scene. *16th century A.D. John D. Schiff Collection, New York. Silk brocaded in gold. (Collection Photo)*

345. *Art of the Steppes. Siberia.* Gold Plaque with Hunting Scene. *1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. Hermitage, Leningrad (Collection of Peter the Great). Gold. (After Rostovtzeff,* 1929*)*

346. *Chinese Art.* Tile: Hunter with Bow and Arrow on a steed moving at the flying gallop. *Han Dynasty. Brick. (After Rostovtzeff,* 1931-32*)*

347. *Greco-Buddhist Art. Airtam, near Termez (Russian Turkestan).* Frieze: Procession of Musicians against a Ground of Acanthus Leaves. *1st century B.C. (?). Stone bas-relief. (After Trever,* 1940*)*

A chance discovery made by frontier guards in the Amu Darya river in 1932. Must have decorated a Buddhist temple.

348a-b-c-d. *Parthian Art. Olbia (north shore of the Black Sea).* Small Plaques with Dancers and Acrobats. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Hermitage, Leningrad. Bone. (Museum Photo)*

349. *Palmyrene Art.* Figure in Parthian Costume, in front view. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Stone statue (mutilated). (Photo Henri Seyrig)*

Related to the bronze statue from Shami (cf. H. Seyrig, *Syria,* XX, 1939, p. 177).

350. *Kushan Art. Mat, near Mathura (India).* King Kanishka (c. 144-172 A.D.). *2nd century A.D. Mathura Museum (Cat. III,* 1950, *No.* 213*). Statue of pink sandstone (mutilated), originally enhanced with metal (gold?) plaques. Height c.* 5 *feet* 7 *inches. (Museum Photo)*

Identified by an inscription engraved on the robe and tunic, reading as follows: 'The king, king of kings, His Majesty Kanishka.'

351. *Parthian Art. Olbia (north shore of the Black Sea).* Small Plaques with Two Figures in slight relief. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Hermitage, Leningrad. Bone. (Museum Photo)*

352. *Parthian Art. Olbia (north shore of the Black Sea).* Small Plaques with Two Figures, in slight relief, one apparently enthroned. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Hermitage, Leningrad. Bone. (Museum Photo)*

353. *Sarmatian Art. Maikop? (Kuban).* Fibula with Figure brandishing the severed head of a vanquished enemy. *1st-3rd centuries A.D. University Museum, Philadelphia. Bronze gilt, length* 3 3/8 *inches. (Museum Photo)*

354a. *Sarmatian Art. Barrow of Kurdzips (Kuban).* Gold Ornament with the severed head of an enemy, customary trophy of a victory. *3rd century B.C. (?). Hermitage, Leningrad. Gold. (After Rostovtzeff,* 1933*)*

354b. *Siberian Art. Minussinsk (Siberia).* Pendant with Man's Head. *8th-10th centuries A.D. Minussinsk Museum (U.S.S.R.). Bronze. (After Salmony,* 1934*)*

355. *Sarmatian Art. Kurgan Zubov, near Anapa (eastern shore of the Black Sea).* Gold Ornament. Scene of Combat, Victory, and Presentation of the severed head of the Enemy. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Feron-Stoclet Collection, Brussels. Gold, height* 3 4 5/8 *inches, length* 13 *inches. (Collection Photo)*

356a. *Sarmatian Art. Novocherkassk (South Russia).* Perfume Flask in the form of a Feline. *1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. Hermitage, Leningrad. Onyx. (After Borovka,* 1928*)*

356b. *Parthian Art. Hatra.* Perfume-burner handle in the form of a Feline. *2nd century A.D. Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Bronze,* 4 7/8 *inches. (Museum Photo)*

356c. *Parthian Art. Taxila.* Handle of a Censer in the form of a Feline. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Taxila Museum. (Photo Draeger, after J. Marshall,* 1951*)*

356d. *Parthian Art (?). Taxila.* Perfume-burner handle in the form of a Feline. *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Taxila Museum. Bronze, length* 9 *inches. (Photo Draeger, after J. Marshall,* 1951*)*

357. *Greco-Iranian Art. Kustanai (Russia).* Bowl decorated with scenes from Greek Tragedy (detail). *1st-2nd centuries A.D. Hermitage, Leningrad. Silver. (Museum Photo)*

358. *Greco-Iranian Art. Kustanai (Russia).* Bowl decorated with scenes from Tragedies of Euripides *(Alcestis, Alope, Bacchae* and *Ion). 1st-2nd centuries A.D. Hermitage, Leningrad. Silver. (Museum Photo)*

359. *Greco-Iranian Art.* Bowl with Two Scenes from *Syleus:* Herakles, slave of Syleus and Herakles slaying his master after a feast. *7th century A.D. (?). Hermitage, Leningrad. Silver. (Museum Photo)*

360. *Greco-Iranian Art.* Bowl with Two Scenes from *Syleus* (detail). *7th century A.D. (?). Hermitage, Leningrad. Silver. (Museum Photo)*

361. *Kushan Art. Surkh Kotal (Bactria).* Statue of a Kushan Prince. *2nd century A.D. Kabul Museum. Stone. (Photo Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan)*

From the south portico of the Acropolis of Kanishka. Has analogies with the statues of Scythian princes from the Temple of Mat (see No. 350).

362. *Romanesque Art. Angoulême (Charente).* Frieze of Confronted Horsemen (detail). *12th century. Stone, lintel of the cathedral façade. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*

363. *Mediaeval Art of Daghestan. Kubachi (Daghestan).* Fragments of Sculpture with Confronted Horsemen (detail). *12th century. Stone. (Photo Bashkiroff)*
Kubachi was explored in 1924 by Bashkiroff and Jakovleff (see Bashkiroff, *Les sculptures de Koubatchi en Daghestan*, Travaux du Comité du Caucase du Nord).

364. *Sassanian Art. Bishapur (Fars).* Triumph of Shapur I (detail): Procession of Tribute Bearers. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Roger Viollet)*

365. *Roman Art. Rome, Forum Traianum.* Trajan's Column (detail): Crossing a River. *Early 2nd century A.D. Marble, in situ. (Photo Marc Foucault)*

366. *Syro-Roman Art. Shehba-Philippopolis (Syria).* Theatre of the Town of Shehba-Philippopolis founded by Philip the Arab. *3rd century A.D. In situ. (Photo E. Trautmann-Nehring)*

367. *Syrian Art. Dura Europos (Syria).* Fresco in the Synagogue: The Ark of the Covenant in the Temple of Dagon, God of the Philistines. 245-256 *A.D. Damascus Museum. Fresco, height of the register containing this scene, 59 inches. (Photo Manceau)*
From the excavations conducted by the Yale University Expedition, 1932-33. The synagogue, complete with its painted decorations, was dismantled and reassembled in Damascus Museum by the architect H.F. Pearson.

368. *Sassanian Art. Eiwan-i-Kerkha, near Susa.* Transversal Barrel Vaults thrown over the Iwan. *4th century A.D. In situ. (After O. Reuther)*

369. *Catalan Art. Amer (Catalonia).* Plan of the Church of Santa Maria d'Amer. *10th century. In situ. Smooth continuous barrel vaults. (After Puig i Cadafalch, 1935)*

370. *Catalan Art. Saint-Martin-du-Canigou (Roussillon).* Nave of the Church of Saint-Martin-du-Canigou, before restoration, with continuous barrel vaults. 1009. *In situ. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*

371. *Carolingian Art. Germigny-des-Prés (Loiret), near Orléans.* The Church of Germigny-des-Prés before its demolition in the 19th century. *Late 9th-early 10th century. Drawing by the architect Delton, 1841. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*

372. *Carolingian Art. Germigny-des-Prés (Loiret), near Orléans.* Church of Germigny-des-Prés. Mosaic with Sassanian Palmettes in the Blind Arch of the East Apse. *Late 9th-early 10th century. Destroyed. Reconstruction by the architect Lisch, 1873. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*

373. *Art of Cappadocia. Atchyk Serai (Cappadocia).* Façade of a rock-hewn church with blind arches separated by *lesenes. 10th-11th centuries. In situ. (After Rott, 1908)*

374. *Catalan Art. San Pedro del Burgal (Aneu Valley, Catalonia).* Church of San Pedro del Burgal: Apse Decoration, with double arcade between two *lesenes. 9th-10th centuries. In situ. (Photo Mas)*

375. *Sassanian Art. Ctesiphon.* Palace: Arcading, in the form of Niches, around the Arch of the Great Parabolic Vault. *Second half of the 3rd century A.D. In situ. Brick, revetment and decoration in stucco. (After Pope)*

376. *Sassanian Art. Taq-i-Bustan (Kurdistan).* Capital with Chosroes II and Anahita. Abacus adorned with conchoidal niches upheld by twin columns. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Stone, in situ. (After Pope)*

377. *Early Mediaeval Art. Vienne (Isère).* Church of Saint-Pierre de Pienne: Windows on the first floor and Arcades on the ground floor. *5th century A.D. In situ. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*

378. *Oriental Art (Syria, Asia Minor). Spalato (Split), Yugoslavia.* Palace of Diocletian. Golden Gate, with arcades in the upper part. *Early 4th century A.D. In situ. (Photo Godde-Viollet)*

379. *Sassanian Art. Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fars).* Bas-relief with the Triumph of Shapur I (detail): A man following the King, with forefinger pointing forward. *After 250 A.D. Rock Relief, in situ. (Photo Hervé)*

380. *Romanesque Art. Vicq (Indre).* The Journey of the Magi (detail): Figure with pointing forefinger. 12th *century. Fresco, in situ. (Photo Bulloz)*

381. *Mosan Art. Saint-Omer (Pas-de-Calais), Abbey of Saint-Bertin.* Foot of the Cross of Saint-Bertin (detail): Isaac with pointing forefinger. *Attributed to the school of Godefroy de Claire of Huy and Nicolas de Verdun. About 1180 (perhaps in the abbacy of Simon II, 1177-86). Musée Communal, Saint-Omer. Bronze gilt, with champlevé enamels. (Photo Giraudon)*

382. *Romanesque Art. Saint-Denis, near Paris.* Stained-glass Window. Moses and the Brazen Serpent (detail): Moses with pointing forefinger. *12th century. Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, Chapelle Saint-Pérégrin. (Photo Direction de l'Architecture)*
Detail of the upper panel of the allegorical window of Moses. Forms part of the 'typological' windows ordered by Abbot Suger, who has left a description of them (Sugerus, *Liber de Rebus in administratione sua gestis*, cap. XXXIV, MS lat. 13835, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

383. *Merovingian Art. Jouarre (Seine-et-Marne).* Sarcophagus of the Abbess St Agilberta (died 665), with decoration of Sassanian inspiration. 665 *A.D. Abbey of Jouarre, Crypte Saint-Paul. Stucco. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*

384. *Russian Art. Nereditsa, near Novgorod.* Holy Face of the Church of the Saviour, called Spas-Nereditsa. *12th century. Fresco, in situ. (Photo A. Grabar)*

385. *Coptic Art. Saqqara (Egypt).* Virgin suckling the Child. *7th century. Fresco in the Monastery of St Jeremias at Saqqara. (Photo A. Grabar)*

386a. *Early Mediaeval Art. Wolfenbüttel (Germany).* Ornamental Initial with Human Face. *8th century. Miniature painting, MS 99, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. (After B. Teyssèdre, 1959)*

386b. *Early Mediaeval Art. Linon (Puy-de-Dôme).* Radiating Fibula of Pontico-Danubian derivation. *About 600 A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Gold and precious stones. (Photo Dumas-Satigny)*
Monogram of Christ with the Holy Face in the centre.

386c. *Achaemenian Art.* Gold Ear-ring with a Human Face. *4th century B.C. Gold, height 2 3/8 inches. From the Teheran art market. (Photo Razavi)*

387. *Romanesque Art. Angers (Maine-et-Loire).* Abbey of Saint-Aubin. Flat Heads on the archivolt of an arch. *12th century. In situ. (Photo J. Evers)*

388. *Romanesque Art. Beauvais (Oise).* Tympanum of the Church of Saint-Gilles. Two Monsters with a single head. *12th century. Beauvais Museum. Stone. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*

389. *Georgian Art. Katzh (Georgia).* Tympanum of the Church. Rinceaux formed by two human bodies curving round a central axis. 1027-1072. *Bas-relief. (After Zaretelli)*
On a church built by King Bagrat IV (1027-1072).

390. *Armenian Art. Hahpat (Armenia).* Frontispiece of the Gospel Book of Hahpat. *11th century. Miniature painting, folio 27, MS 207, Erivan Museum. (Photo J. Baltrusaitis)*

391. *Romanesque Art. Beauvais (Oise).* Tympanum of the Church of Saint-Etienne. Rinceaux mingled with the curves of confronted animals. *12th century. In situ. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*

392. *Georgian Art. Oshk (Georgia).* Abbey Church, bas-relief in the north aisle. Animal Passant. *10th century. (Photo J. Baltrusaitis after a cast)*
Abbey church of the 10th-11th centuries, explored in 1917 by the Takaishvili Expedition. Cf. Catalogue of the Exhibition of Georgian Architecture, Tiflis, 1920, N.N. 1-17.

393. *Georgian Art. Martvili (Georgia).* Cathedral, relief in the west apse. Simurgh. *10th century. Bas-relief, in situ. (Photo J. Baltrusaitis)*

394. *Art of Daghestan. Kubachi (Daghestan).* Confronted Animals (detail). *12th century. Bas-relief. (Photo Bashkiroff)*
Kubachi was explored in 1924 by Bashkiroff and Jakovleff (see Bashkiroff, *Les Sculptures de Koubatchi en Daghestan*, Travaux du Comité du Caucase du Nord).

395. *Sassanian Art. Taq-i-Bustan (Kurdistan).* Capital. The Goddess Anahita with raised arms, as if supporting the abacus of the capital. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Stone, in situ. (After Pope)*

396. *Armenian Art. Harich (Armenia).* Funerary Stele. Figure with raised arms (detail). *5th-6th centuries A.D. Stone. (Photo Thoromonian)*

397. *Romanesque Art. Saint-Lizier (Ariège).* Capital in the Cloister. Figure with raised arms. *12th century. Stone, in situ. (Photo J. Baltrusaitis)*

398. *Moslem Art. Iraq.* Motif of Two-headed Eagle. *About* 1200. *Formerly Staatliche Museen, Berlin (KGM 97, No. 223). Silk Brocade. (Museum Photo, W. Steinkopf)*

399. *Italian Art. Sorrento, near Naples.* Carved Panel with Confronted Griffins on either side of a Sacred Tree. *10th-11th centuries. Museo Correale, Sorrento. Marble, height 35 inches, width 69 inches. (Photo Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)*
From the Old Cathedral of Sorrento.

400. *Italian Art. Sorrento, near Naples.* Carved Panel with Winged Horse in a floral medallion. *10th-11th centuries. Museo Correale, Sorrento. Marble, height* 20 5/8 *inches, width* 17 1/4 *inches. (Photo Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)*
From the Old Cathedral of Sorrento.

401. *Sassanian Art.* Cup of Chosroes I. *6th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (No. 2358). Solid gold framework with inlays of coloured glass paste in relief (white, red and green); central intaglio of rock crystal. Diameter 11 inches, depth 1 3/8 inches. (Photo Draeger)*
See No. 244.

402. *Coptic Art.* Ivory Plaque with Royal Figure Enthroned. *7th century A.D. (?). Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. (Museum Photo)*

403. *Romanesque Art of Languedoc. Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne).* Abbey Church of Moissac. Tympanum of the Main Portal: Christ in Majesty with Two Angels and Symbols of the Four Evangelists. *About* 1135. *Stone, in situ. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*

404. *Sassanian Art.* Ewer with Crossed Lions on either side of the Tree of Life. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (No. 2880 in the 1887 Catalogue). Silver, hammered design on gilt ground. Height 13 3/8 inches. (Photo Giraudon)*

405. *Syro-Roman Art. Antioch (House of the Rams' Heads).* Border of a Mosaic Pavement. Rams' heads emerging from outspread wings. *6th century A.D. Louvre, Paris. Mosaic. (Photo Giraudon)*
This is the border of the so-called Phoenix Mosaic.

406. *Syro-Roman Art. Antioch (Sector D.H. 28.0).* Mosaic with Beribboned Lion Passant. *About* 425 *A.D. (After Doro Levi,* 1947*)*

407. *Mediaeval Art. Lescar (Basses-Pyrénées).* Fragment of a Mosaic Pavement. Lion and Eagle attacking an Ibex. *Apse mosaic, Lescar Cathedral. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*
An inscription dates this mosaic to the 12th century, but some archaeologists regard it as a Gallo-Roman work.

408. *Merovingian Art. Thiers (Puy-de-Dôme).* Fragment of a Mosaic Pavement patterned with Roundels. Lion with a tail ending in a spear-shaped leaf, and a Sassanian star branded on its haunch. *5th century A.D. Mosaic, Church of Saint-Genès, Thiers. (Photo Archives, Monuments Historiques)*
Discovered in 1865 with other mosaic fragments.

409. *Byzantine Art. Venice, St Mark's.* Marble Plaque. Peacock with outspread tail, enclosed in a medallion surrounded by leafage. *About* 976. *(Photo Scala)*

410. *Byzantine Art. Constantinople Region.* Glazed Tile. Peacock spreading its tail, in front view, with a collar and a branch in its beak, enclosed in a circle. *10th-11th centuries. Louvre, Paris (AC 84). Glazed tile (green, ochre, cream, with brown-black outlines). Height 11 3/4 inches, width 11 3/4 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

411a & b. *Hispano-Moresque Art.* Textile. Peacock spreading its tail, in front view, and Deer in side-view against a ground of arabesques. *11th century. British Museum, London. Silk. (Photo Thames & Hudson)*

412a. *Byzantine Art. Constantinople Region.* Ceramic Tile. Rosette with Palmettes. *10th-11th centuries. Louvre, Paris (AC 85). Ceramic wall panel (manganese green, ochre). Height 11 3/4 inches, width 11 3/4 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

412b. *Byzantine Art. Constantinople Region.* Glazed Tile. Bouquet of Acanthus Leaves. *10th-11th centuries. Louvre, Paris (AC 86). Ceramic wall panel (green, ochre, cream, with brown-black outlines). Height 11 3/4 inches, width 11 3/4 inches. (Photo Draeger)*

413. *Coptic Art. Egypt.* Textile (detail): 'Woman at the Window' on a ground of Confronted Heads and Birds. *6th century A.D. (?). Nelson Art Gallery, Kansas City. Linen and wool (or silk?). (Museum Photo)*

414. *Coptic Art. Egypt.* Funerary (?) Textile. Figures under an Arch. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Brooklyn Museum. Linen and wool (or silk?). (Museum Photo)*

415. *Coptic Art. Egypt.* Tapestry with Heads. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Musée des Tissus, Lyons. (Photo R. Basset)*

416. *Persian Art. Saint-Josse (Pas-de-Calais).* Textile. Confronted and Caparisoned Elephants, with Camels in the border. *10th century. Louvre, Paris. Silk (yellow, white and blue on a red ground). Height 21 1/4 inches, width 36 1/4 inches. (Photo Draeger)*
The Kufic inscription reads: 'Glory and happiness to Kaid Abul M. Nujakim, may God prolong his prosperity.' This fabric may have been brought back from the First Crusade by E. de Boulogne, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon.

417. *Fatimid Art of Egypt. Egypt.* Textile, so-called Cope of St Mesme. Tethered Cheetahs confronted on either side of a *hom.* *10th century (c. 1000). Church of Saint-Étienne, Chinon (Indre-et-Loire). Blue ground with white, yellow and green designs and spots of red. Height 9 feet 10 inches, width 6 1/2 feet. (Photo Guénanen)*
The Kufic inscription provides no clue as to the dating. Another fragment of this fabric is in the Musée de Cluny, Paris.

418. *Persian Art.* Silk Pluvial with rows of Wild Animals pouncing on Onagers amid interlacing stems forming arabesques. *8th-10th centuries. Church of Pébrac (Haute-Loire). (Photo Velay)*

419. *Persian Art.* Textile. Two Lions guarding an Altar, on which the sacred fire is burning; on their haunches, the Sassanian star. *8th-10th centuries. Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture, Le Mans (Sarthe). Silk, green lions on a red ground. (Photo Vaillant)*

420. *Byzantine Art. Constantinople.* Casket with Horsemen and Hunting Scenes (detail): The Emperor, on horseback, represented twice, receiving the Crown from a woman at the gate of a town. *10th century. Cathedral Treasure, Troyes (Aube). Carved ivory with a crimson-tinted ground. Lid of the casket, length 10 1/4 inches, width 5 1/8 inches. (Photo J.L. Sourdais)*
Tradition has it that this casket was brought back from Constantinople by Jean Langlois, chaplain of Garnier de Traisnel, Bishop of Troyes, after the sack of Constantinople in 1204.

421. *Imperial Byzantine Art. Constantinople(?).* Textile. Medallion with Two Confronted Horsemen, driving their spears into the jaws of leaping lions. *8th century. Musée des Tissus, Lyons (No. 27386). Samite, dark blue, straw-yellow, red and sky-blue on a dark blue ground. Height 29 inches, length 28 inches. (Photo Giraudon)*
Tradition has it that this fabric was given by Pepin the Short to the Abbey of Mozac (Auvergne) to wrap the relics of St Austremoine.

422. *Byzantine Art. Constantinople.* Casket with Horsemen and Hunting Scenes (detail): Hunters fighting with a Lion. *10th century. Cathedral Treasure, Troyes (Aube). Carved ivory with a crimson-tinted ground. Front panel, height 5 1/2 inches, length 10 1/4 inches. (Photo J.L. Sourdais)*
See No. 420.

423. *Byzantine Art. Constantinople.* Silk of Bishop Gunther of Bamberg (1057-61). Offering of Crowns to a Byzantine Emperor, mounted on a white horse and holding the labarum. *Early 11th century. Bamberg Cathedral. Silk with green, pink, red ochre, white and blue designs on a purple ground. Height 7 feet, width 6 feet 10 inches. (After a drawing by Father Martin, 1845)*
Taken about 1840 from the tomb of Bishop Gunther, who must have acquired it in Constantinople in the course of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

424. *Irano-Buddhist Art. Bamiyan (Afghanistan).* Bodhisattva. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Ceiling fresco, in situ, Cave 3 (Cave Group K). Height 5 feet 7 inches, width 4 feet 8 inches. (After a copy made by Carl)*

425. *Irano-Buddhist Art. Bamiyan (Afghanistan).* Cliff of the Great Buddhas, overall view. *3rd-6th centuries A.D. (Photo Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan)*
Hewn out of the rock-face, the cave temples of Bamiyan were richly decorated with statues and paintings. Explored by the French Afghan expeditions organized in 1922 by Foucher and led by Joseph Hackin from 1924 to 1940.

426. *Irano-Buddhist Art. Kakrak, near Bamiyan (Afghanistan).* Painting. The Hunter-King, seated and wearing the Diadem with Three Crescents. *5th-6th centuries A.D. Kabul Museum. Painting on clay mixed with straw. Colours, red and blue. Height 23 1/2 inches, width 20 1/2 inches. (Photo Rapho-Mortimer)*

427. *Irano-Buddhist Art. Dukhtar-i-Noshervan (Afghanistan).* Painting at the back of a vaulted niche. Royal Personage enthroned, with Two Attendants. *6th-7th centuries A.D. In situ. Painting on clay ground composed of two distinct layers, the first of varying thickness (from 1 to 7 inches); the second, very thin, reinforced with lengths of straw. Height 13 feet, width 40 feet. (After Godard and Hackin, 1928)*

428. *Indo-Iranian Art. Kizil, west of Kucha (Northern Kashgaria).* Wall Painting, 'Cave of the Painter,' First Style. Flying Deities and Members of the Kucha Nobility. *5th-7th centuries A.D. (between 450 and 650). Wall painting, 22 by 31 1/2 inches. Colours, grey, bistre, brown, red, dark brown and light green. (After A. von Le Coq, 1924-26)*

429. *Indo-Iranian Art. Kizil, west of Kucha (Northern Kashgaria).* Wall Painting, Second Style. The Sharing of the Relics. *7th-8th centuries A.D. Wall painting, 6 feet 5 inches by 6 feet 4 inches. (After A. von Le Coq, 1924-26)*

430. *Irano-Buddhist Art. Fundukistan (Afghanistan).* Seated Statues. Princely Couple. *6th-7th centuries A.D. Kabul Museum. Polychrome terracotta. (Photo Rapho-Mortimer)*
From Niche E of the Buddhist monastery of Fundukistan.

431. *Sogdian Art. Varakhsha (Bukhara Oasis), ancient Sogdiana.* Fresco. Warriors mounted on caparisoned Elephants attacked by Felines (detail). *6th-7th centuries A.D. West wall of the central hall of the palace.* (*After Mongait,* 1955)

Excavations conducted by V. Shishkin, 1937-39 and 1947-53. Varakhsha is the site of the capital of the khanate of pre-Islamic Bukhara. Ruins of a citadel and remains of a palace whose walls were decorated with frescoes and stucco-work (3rd-7th centuries).

432a. *Sogdian Art. Varakhsha (Bukhara Oasis), ancient Sogdiana.* Stucco. Ram. *3rd-4th centuries A.D. (?). West wing of the palace.* (*After Mongait,* 1955)

Cf. No. 431.

432b. *Sogdian Art. Varakhsha (Bukhara Oasis), ancient Sogdiana.* Stucco. Woman's Head. *3rd-4th centuries A.D. (?). Mural decoration, west wing of the palace.* (*After Mongait,* 1955)

Cf. No. 431.

433. *Sogdian Art. Pyanjikent, Valley of the Zeravashan (Tajikistan).* Fresco. Ritual Banquet of the Sogdian 'Dekhkans.' *7th-8th centuries A.D. Mural decoration, north wing of the first temple. Colours, yellow ochre, red ochre, brown, black and cream.* (*After a copy made by I. Gremiachenskaya*)

The Soviet Tajikistan expedition began the exploration of Pyanjikent in 1947. Since 1950 the excavations have been conducted by A. Belenitski. The most spectacular find is that of the remains of two large Sogdian temples decorated with wall paintings.

434. *Sogdian Art. Ancient Sogdiana.* Ossuary. Zoroastrian Deities under an Arch. *7th century A.D. Terracotta Relief.* (*After Borissov,* 1940)

435. *Chorasmian Art. Toprak-kala, ancient Chorasmia (Soviet Karakalpak Republic).* Fragment of Sculpture. Man's Head. *3rd century A.D. Alabaster, found in the ruined palace.* (*After* Union Soviétique)

Excavations of the palace of Toprak-kala by the Soviet expedition of the Academy of Sciences, led by S. Tolstov, 1945-50. Royal palace built in the 3rd century A.D. in the north-west corner of the town. The finds include a great deal of sculpture and innumerable fragments of monumental wall paintings.

436a. *Chorasmian Art. Toprak-kala, ancient Chorasmia (Soviet Karakalpak Republic).* Bas-relief. Stag's Head. *3rd century A.D. Painted stucco relief found in the ruins of the palace.* (*After Tolstov,* 1953)

Cf. No. 435.

436b & c. *Chorasmian Art. Toprak-kala, ancient Chorasmia (Soviet Karakalpak Republic).* Statues. Figures in three-quarter view, elegantly draped. *3rd century A.D. Coloured clay, almost twice life-size, found in the ruins of the palace.* (*After Mongait,* 1959)

437. *Kirghiz Art. Cairn of Kopeni (Yenisei).* Plaques: Hunter and Trappings. *7th-8th centuries A.D. Bronze figurines, saddle ornaments.* (*After L. Yevtiukhova,* 1940)

438a. *Proto-Bulgarian Art. Nagyszentmiklos (Hungary).* Jug adorned with medallions linked by beaded bands. Warrior on Horseback. *9th century A.D. Budapest Museum. Gold, height* 8 5/8 *inches.* (*Photo Meyer*)

438b. *Proto-Bulgarian Art. Nagyszentmiklos (Hungary).* Jug adorned with medallions linked by beaded bands. Fantastic Hunting Scene. *9th century A.D. Budapest Museum. Gold, height* 8 5/8 *inches.* (*Photo Meyer*)

438c. *T'ang Art of China. Minussinsk (Siberia).* Pendant with Beribboned Stag moving at the flying gallop. *7th-10th centuries A.D. Krasnoyarsk Museum. Black bronze inlaid with gold, height* 5 7/8 *inches.* (*After Salmony,* 1934)

439. *Manichaean Art of the Early Uighur Period. Shotcho (Turfan Oasis).* Wall Painting. The Prophet Mani, with the 'class' of the Elect on his right. *Early 9th century. Shotcho Cave, Ruin K. Wall painting, with red and white predominating,* 66 *by* 34 1/2 *inches.* (*After A. von Le Coq,* 1923)

440. *Nestorian Art of Iranian Inspiration, with a Romano-Byzantine Strain. Shotcho (Turfan Oasis).* Wall Painting. Palm Sunday. *9th century. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. Measures* 23 1/2 *by* 26 1/4 *inches.* (*After A. von Le Coq,* 1923)

From the Christian temple of Shotcho. See the catalogue of the exhibition 'Gandhara et Asia Centrale,' Musée Guimet, Paris, 1958-59, No. 124.

441. *Indo-Iranian Art. Ajanta (India).* Ceiling Fresco, Cave I. Banquet Scene with the God Panchika. *5th-6th centuries A.D. In situ.* (*After Yazdani*)

442a. *Irano-Chinese Art.* Cup with Stem, decorated with circles in relief. *7th-8th centuries A.D. Imperial Treasure of the Shoso-in, Nara (Japan). Dark blue glass, clay reliefs, incised silver stem. Height* 4 1/4 *inches, diameter* 3 3/4 *inches, depth* 2 7/8 *inches.* (*Museum Photo*)

442b. *Irano-Chinese (T'ang) Art.* Dish with animals and floral designs. *8th century A.D. Imperial Treasure of the Shoso-in, Nara (Japan). Silver gilt, height* 5 1/4 *inches, diameter* 24 1/4 *inches, weight* 450 *grammes.* (*Museum Photo*)

443a. *Irano-Chinese Art.* Lobate Bowl. *8th century A.D. Imperial Treasure of the Shoso-in, Nara (Japan). Silver-plated bronze, height* 1 3/4 *inches, length* 4 *inches. After Harada,* 1939, *pl. I,* 1. (*Museum Photo*)

443b. *Sassano-Chinese Art.* Musical Instrument: Biwa or Guitar. *8th century A.D. Imperial Treasure of the Shoso-in, Nara (Japan). Precious wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl, length* 42 3/4 *inches, width* 12 *inches, thickness at the edge* 3 3/8 *inches.* (*After A. Harada,* 1939)

443c. *Irano-Chinese Art.* Bowl with imbricated designs in relief. *8th century A.D. Imperial Treasure of the Shoso-in, Nara (Japan). Ceramic with shaded brown glaze, height* 3 3/8 *inches. diameter* 4 3/4 *inches.* (*Photo Roman Ghirshman*)

443d. *Sassano-Chinese Art.* Ewer with Handle. *7th-8th centuries A.D. Imperial Treasure of the Shoso-in, Nara (Japan). Glass, height* 10 3/4 *inches, diameter* 5 1/2 *inches. After Harada,* 1939, *pl. IV,* 2. (*Museum Photo*)

444. *Sassano-Chinese Art.* Textile. Lion Hunters confronted on either side of the *hom*, in an oval medallion with beads and flowers. *8th century A.D. Imperial Treasure of the Shoso-in, Nara (Japan). Brocade on a blue ground. After Harada,* 1939, *pl. VIII,* 1. *(Museum Photo)*

445. *Japanese Art of Sassanian Inspiration.* Textile patterned with beaded roundels. Mounted Lion Hunters. *8th century A.D. Imperial Treasure of the Shoso-in, Nara (Japan). Silk. After a modern copy belonging to Mme Ghirshman. (Photo Draeger)*

446. *T'ang Art of China.* Rider on Saddled Horse, standing still. *7th-8th centuries A.D. British Museum, London. Polychrome Terracotta. (Museum Photo)*

447. *T'ang Art of China.* Equestrian Figurines. Women playing Polo. *8th century A.D. Collection, Barling of Mount Street Ltd, London. Red, unglazed terracotta with traces of colour (red, white and black). Length c.* 12 1/4 *inches. (After Mario Prodan,* The Art of the T'ang Potter, 1960)

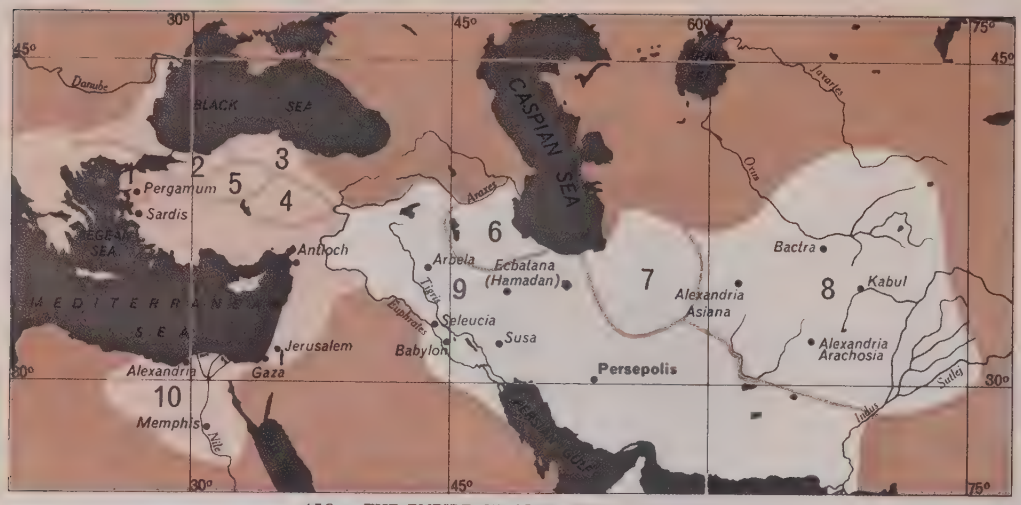
448. *Chinese Art of Sassanian Inspiration.* Vase with handles and tubular spout and floral designs in relief. *Late 6th-early 7th century. Collection of Sir Herbert Ingram, London. Porcelain. (Photo M.R. Dudley)*

449. *Iranian Art.* Ivory Casket patterned with roundels (detail): Mounted Hunter letting fly an Arrow. *7th-8th centuries A.D. Feron-Stoclet Collection, Brussels. Length of the casket,* 9 *inches. (Collection Photo)*

450-454. Maps.

Drawings by Claude ABEILLE, maps by Jacques PERSON.

MAPS



450 - THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

1 - KINGDOM OF PERGAMUM
2 - KINGDOM OF BITHYNIA
3 - KINGDOM OF PONTUS
4 - KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA
5 - KINGDOM OF GALATIA
6 - KINGDOM OF MEDIA ATROPATENE
7 - KINGDOM OF THE PARTHIANS
8 - GREEK KINGDOM OF BACTRIA
9 - KINGDOM OF THE SELEUCIDS
10 - KINGDOM OF THE PTOLEMIES

451 - THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE

1 - PARTHYENE
2 - MARGIANA
3 - SOGDIANA
4 - BACTRIA
5 - GANDHARA
6 - INDO-PARTHIAN EMPIRE, SEISTAN
7 - PERSIS
8 - ELYMAIS
9 - MEDIA
10 - ARMENIA
11 - MESOPOTAMIA
12 - SYRIA

452 - THE SASSANIAN EMPIRE

1 - FARS
2 - ARMENIA
3 - SOGDIANA
4 - BACTRIA
5 - GANDHARA
6 - KUSHAN
7 - SEISTAN
8 - KHORASAN
9 - SUSIANA
10 - SYRIA
11 - EGYPT
12 - ASIA MINOR
13 - PONTUS

ROMAN GHIRSHMAN, archaeologist, explorer and historian, has, since 1930, assisted in and supervised many excavations in Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran. In 1941 he was appointed head of the French Délégation Archéologique in Afghanistan and after the war led two expeditions to Iran sponsored by the French Government. He has been awarded honours by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, is a Correspondent of the Institut de France, Professor at the University of Aix-en-Provence and Doctor (Honoris Causa) at the University of Teheran.

After writing three novels as a young man which have become classics of French literature, ANDRÉ MALRAUX turned his attention to the psychology and philosophy of art. Few more brilliant writers on this subject have appeared in this generation and his publications have had a revolutionary and far-reaching effect since the breadth of his knowledge is matched only by the depth of his intuition.

A specialist in Oriental art and a former director of the Musée Guimet in Paris, GEORGES SALLES is the retired Director of the National Museums of France. As the dean of his profession, he was also President of the International Council of Museums.

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